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Lebedev: Removing Warheads 'Delicate'
PM161622 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Sep 87 First Edition p 5

[Interview with Major General Yu.V. Lebedev, deputy chief of a directorate of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, under the rubric "Authoritative Opinion": "Should the Warheads Be Destroyed?"—date, place of interview not given; first four paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Statements have been issued repeatedly in Washington in recent days to the effect that in connection with the treaty on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles that is being drawn up, there can only be any question of eliminating the missiles themselves and the launchers, and in no way the warheads for them, which supposedly are of no significance.

A high-ranking spokesman for the administration stated, in particular, that "the dismantling of nuclear devices is a very delicate process requiring special facilities. Such facilities exist only in the places where nuclear arms are manufactured, and neither side ever wants to allow the other really to see the design of the weapons. Therefore the statement that the Soviet side is proposing— the destruction of nuclear warheads— and we are opposing it, is pure propaganda."

U.S. State Department Spokesman C. Redman, for his part, has asserted that "the part of the missile known as the warhead is not subject to destruction, since monitoring measures here are extremely complicated. These parts (the warheads) should be returned to national territories, to be disposed of as each side sees fit."

The question of the subsequent fate of the warheads was bypassed in complete silence by President Reagan in his recent statement, issued by the White House last Monday.

"What can you say on this question?"—that is the question we put to Major General Yu.V. Lebedev, deputy chief of a directorate of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff.

[Lebedev] Considering the security interests of both European and Asian countries, the USSR has adopted the concept of the global double zero, that is,the total destruction everywhere of two classes of Soviet and U.S. nuclear weapons—medium-range and operational-tactical missiles. This concept provides for the elimination both of the missiles themselves and their launchers, and of the warheads for them.

The question of warheads was raised in the first instance by the American side at the very beginning of the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms. The Soviet Union agreed to this approach. In its subsequent position it proceeded strictly on the basis that the warheads, as the most dangerous part of the missiles, should be subject to destruction.

At present the United States is posing the question differently. It is claimed that the warheads supposedly represent no danger in themselves, if the missiles are destroyed. It is, of course, no accident that the United States took up this position after FRG Chancellor Kohl, in his recent speech, had pointed out unequivocally that the warheads for the FRG's Pershing-1A operational-tactical missiles belong to the United States. It is now having to include these warheads, like it or not, in the levels of the arms that are to be eliminated. To all appearances this circumstance was what prompted the American side to forward the proposal that it is not expedient to destroy the nuclear warheads for missiles, since, they say, verifying the implementation of this procedure is complicated.

In fact the missile warheads could, with proper on-site verification, be detached from the missiles and stored at agreed sites on the sides' national territories, and their nuclear charges [zaryady] could later be recovered [utilizirovany] on the basis of procedures agreed at the talks. Verification would also take place at the storage sites.

It appears that the American side does not like a situation in which verification at the storage sites would be carried out not only on Soviet territory, but also on U.S. territory. This is indicated, in particular, by the fact that recently, in forwarding proposals on verification, Washington has tried to formulate them so verification would cover only the USSR's territory, while U.S. territory would escape. Moreover the territory of third countries involved with medium-range missiles would also escape verification.

As you can see, the question of eliminating nuclear warheads is formulated by the American side in such a way as first, to secure unilateral advantages, and second, to keep the nuclear warheads for the Pershing-1A missiles that belong to the FRG.

Let me add that U.S. State Department Spokesman Mr Redman, in his statement, also said there are no substantial differences between the positions of the United States and the USSR on the question of warheads. Such assertions are not in accordance with reality.

The peoples of Europe and the whole world await a radical solution to the problem of medium-range and operational-tactical missiles. If the sides have agreed on a global zero, that zero should be a real zero for both sides.

TASS on CEMA Executive Meetings

Sessions Open 14 Sep

LD141329 Moscow TASS in English 1041 GMT 14 Sep 87

[Text] Moscow September 14 TASS—A meeting of the CMEA (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) Executive Committee opened here today. Its agenda includes issues pertaining to the effort to streamline the mechanism of cooperation and socialist economic integration and the CMEA's activity.

The delegates to the meeting will also discuss the course of the implementation of the comprehensive program for scientific and technological progress of the CMEA countries for the period till the year 2000, primarily, its section related to the automation of the national economies.

During the two-day meeting the Executive Committee will also consider international aspects of the CMEA's activity.

Secretary Sychev Comments

LD152116 Moscow TASS in English 1750 GMT 15 Sep 87

[Text] Moscow September 15 TASS—TASS correspondent Yuriy Maksimov reports:

Having been formed almost 40 years ago, the bodies of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance are initiating reconstruction of the system of socialist economic integration, methods of cooperation, all fields of CMEA's activities, said CMEA Secretary Vyacheslav Sychev, talking to the TASS correspondent.

Arising in this connection are such big problems as all-round deepening of international socialist division of labour, questions of development of specialisation and integration of production, direct cooperation between enterprises, institutions, research organizations, that is the whole package of questions which we call "direct ties."

Direct ties existed on a certain scope before, but they predominantly boiled down to the exchange of experience between the participants in the process. What is meant now is all-round development of production links, co-production, development of specialisation and integration of production.

Among the problems awaiting their solution are also such as perfection of monetary-financial and price levers of our cooperation, treaty-based legal foundations of cooperation, enhancing the efficiency of cooperation between the European CMEA member countries and our fraternal non-European countries- -Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia. This is, finally, a group of issues linked with the reconstruction of the set-up of the CMEA and its bodies.

CSSR's Rohlicek Arrives

LD141342 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 14 Sep 87

[Text] A Czechoslovak delegation arrived in Moscow today to attend the 124th session of the CEMA Executive Committee. It is headed by Rudolf Kohlicek, first Czechoslovak vice premier and Czechoslovakia's permanent representative to CEMA. At the Sheremeteyevo Airport the delegation was welcomed by CEMA Secretary Vyacheslav Sychev and other officials.

GDR's Kleiber Attends

LD141134 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1035 GMT 14 Sep 87

[Text] Moscow, 14 Sep ADN—The 124th meeting of the CEMA Executive Committee opened today in Moscow.

Taking part in the meeting from the GDR side is Guenther Kleiber, SED Central Committee Politburo member, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and permanent representative of the GDR to CEMA.

Sessions End 15 Sep

LD152057 Moscow TASS in English 1747 GMT 15 Sep 87

[Text] Moscow September 15 TASS—TASS correspondent Yuriy Maksimov reports:

The Executive Committee of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) ended its 124th session here today after discussing closer business cooperation between the member nations.

The meeting, this correspondent was told at the CMEA Secretariat, paid much attention to the issues of realizing a comprehensive program for scientific and technological progress of the CMEA countries, which covers the period up to the year 2000, including the problems of integrated automation.

Cooperation has been under way practically on every problem specified in the program.

However, the need was stressed at the meeting to take effective measures for the work pursued under the program to ensure the highest level in the development of research and engineering in the priority areas of scientific and technological progress and meet the CMEA members' requirements for newest equipment and technology through international specialization and co-production schemes.

In order to organize the work of matching the national economic development plans of the CMEA countries for the coming five-year period, the Executive Committee approved a draft program for coordinating these plans for 1991-95 and a list of the problems of economic cooperation to be tackled by a concerted multilateral effort.

The sitting devoted special attention to cooperation in the power industry before century's end. The electric power generation potential of the CMEA countries is mostly to be increased through growth in the nuclear power industry.

Endorses Draft Program

LD160923 Moscow TASS in English 0907 GMT 16 Sep 87

[Text] Moscow September 16 TASS—Proposals on restructuring the mechanism of mulitlateral cooperation and socialist economic integration and the activities of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) were discussed at the CMEA Executive Committee's 124th session which was held in Moscow on September 14-15.

It was emphasized that CMEA countries' cooperation should promote to a greater extent the attainment of the strategic economic and social development goals set by the communist and workers parties of fraternal countries, effective mutualisation of the advantages of international socialist division of labour, and the strengthening of their positions in the world economy.

Having discussed the course of realization of the Comprehensive Programme for the Scientific and Technological Progress of CMEA Countries for the Period Ending in the Year 2000, the participants in the session pointed out that cooperation was under way on practically all these problems, and that contractual, legal and organizational conditions for implementing the programme were created, in the main.

The CMEA Executive Committee endorsed a draft programme for coordinating the national economic plans on the CMEA countries for 1991-1995, and a list of economic cooperation matters being coordinated by them on a multilateral basis.

The CMEA countries' cooperation in developing the power industry in the period ending in the year 2000, including that in increasing energy potential, resultant, predominantly, of the nuclear power industry, was considered at the session.

The session endorsed a master scheme for the long-term development of united power grids of CMEA countries and of the electric power systems of Vietnam, Cuba, and Mongolia for the period ending in the year 2000, including measures to raise the dependability of their operation.

The CMEA Executive Committee approved measures to develop cooperation between CMEA and the Latin American economic system for 1987-1988.

Bloc Press Officials Meet in Warsaw

LD121053 Moscow TASS in English 0934 GMT 12 Sep 87

[Text] Warsaw September 12 TASS—A meeting of press and information department heads of the foreign ministries of socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, was held here on September 10-11. They shared experience in the sphere of information and publicity work for foreign countries aimed at ensuring peace and international security. The meeting also discussed the issue of improving the system of mutual information.

Meeting participants were received by Marian Orzechowski, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and foreign minister of the Polish Republic.

PPR's Kinast at Foreign Affairs Meeting

AU111747 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Sep 87 p 6

[Unattributed report: "Deputy Foreign Ministers End Their Meeting in Moscow"]

[Text] The 2-day working meeting of deputy foreign ministers of the CSSR, Bulgaria, the GDR, the PPR, Hungary, and the USSR ended in Moscow on 8 September.

The meeting discussed some current [aktualne] questions of cooperation among the allied socialist countries on the specific lines of foreign policy, including priority questions of security in the context of East-West relations. Jan Kinast, vice minister of foreign affairs of the PPR, attended the meeting.

UN Head To Study Gorbachev Article

LD170539 Moscow TASS in English 0535 GMT 17 Sep 87

[Text] New York September 17 TASS—Francois Giuliani, representative of the U.N. secretary general, said that the U.N. met with great interest Mikhail Gorbachev's article "Reality and Guarantees of a Secure World". The document addressed directly to the United Nations deserves the most detailed study. The U.N. secretary general will comment on the article after he examines it thoroughly, he said.

Gorbachev Greets Friendship Meeting

LD170945 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0801 GMT 17 Sep 87

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has sent a greeting to the participants of the International Meeting of Representatives of Foreign Societies of Friendship with the USSR and the Soviet Public, which has opened in Leningrad. The greeting says:

I cordially greet the representatives of foreign societies of friendship with the USSR and the Soviet public, the participants in the international meeting that has gathered on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. It is significant that your meeting is taking place in Leningrad, the cradle of the revolution where the decree on peace was adopted—a passionate plea to governments and peoples to end war.

Throughout its history, the country of the Soviets has maintained its loyalty to the behest of October—to live in peace and friendship with all peoples, consistently to uphold the principles of peaceful coexistence in international politics. This aim is served by the concept of an all-embracing system of international security, forwarded and actively implemented by the Soviet Union.

To eliminate the threat of nuclear catastrophe hanging over the planet, to ensure for it a future without wars—this is what our country is calling for and struggling for. Our country is prepared to act in concert with all states and social forces without exception.

We are sure that our course for restructuring, for a fuller disclosure of creative potential and the humane essence of socialism, and for establishing new political thinking in international relations, is a direct continuation of the cause of October and expands the base of international mutual understanding and constructive cooperation.

The struggle for a nuclear-free world and for the survival of mankind is a mission not only for politicians. This truth is penetrating more and more deeply into people's consciousness. They have started to interfere more and more, and more actively, in questions of war and peace.

The movement for friendship and cooperation between peoples is an important component part of social forces coming out for the creation of a nonviolent world free of nuclear weapons, a kind of school of public diplomacy.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev wished success to the international meeting and noble activity aimed at strengthening friendship between peoples.

NATO Exercises May Cause 'Damage'

LD141028 Moscow TASS in English 1020 GMT 14 Sep 87

[Text] Copenhagen September 14 TASS—Mobile forces of NATO countries started field exercises as part of the war games codenamed "Accord Express-87" on the island of Zealand, Denmark, today.

More than 10,000 officers and men, 3,000 combat vehicles, tanks and guns, and 100 fighter planes from the United States, Canada, Britain, West Germany, Belgium, Italy, Luxembourg and Denmark are taking part.

The Danish news agency *Ritzaus Bureau* said the exercise could inflict serious damage to local farmers as the harvesting in the country had to be delayed due to cold weather and the potential "battle-fields" were still under crop.

The command of "Accord Express-87" does not think, however, that this factor will affect the exercise, considered to be a prologue to the active part of NATO's annual "Autumn Force" exercise.

United States & Canada

Reportage on Shevardnadze Talks

More on 15 Sep Meeting

LD161310 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 15 Sep 87

[Text] On the first day of Soviet-American talks in Washington between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Secretary of State George Shultz, the two sides signed an agreement on the setting up of nuclear risk reduction centers. Here are some details:

After a private meeting with George Shultz at the State Department, Eduard Shevardnadze went to the White House for a meeting with President Reagan. The Soviet foreign minister handed to the President a letter from Mikhail Gorbachev. The agreement to reduce the chance for accidental nuclear war with the help of a joint risk reduction program was signed at the Rose Garden.

The talks in Washington began against a background of uncertainty as to whether 3 days is enough time for the two sides to wrap up a long awaited INF accord and whether or not there will be an announcement about a new summit. In a speech on Monday, President Reagan said that it was up to the Soviet Union now to demonstrate whether it shares our determination to conclude a treaty. He was alluding to several modest moves pertaining to the scope of the treaty, the timetable for the elimination of the missiles, and verification agreement. The offers were made by United States negotiators in Geneva on the eve of the talks in Washington.

However, to this day the American side is against a number of things that have taken on new urgency and importance. For example, it is against spelling out in a treaty the fate of the American-owned warheads for the West German Pershing-1A missiles. In his statement on arrival in Washington, Eduard Shevardnadze confirmed a determination to roll up the sleeves and do serious work. The Soviet foreign minister added that as for the summit, everything will depend on the results of our work here. Questions which seemed to be of secondary importance yesterday become very important and even decisive today.

If we have an accord on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles, credit for it will be naturally split between the two sides. So polemics as to whose move is next or in whose court the ball is now is not useful now. This country has done a lot to meet American concerns. In the verification field we are prepared for measures that even exceed the level which the United States is prepared to accept. A recent inspection of the unfinished Krasnoyarsk radar station by a congressional delegation is an example of how serious this country is about confidence-building.

Though it is generally accepted that both sides would like to have both an INF accord and a summit, there is a big difference in their positions. We here see a treaty as a spark that could lead to a chain reaction in arms control, spreading to space weapons and strategic offensive arms that constitute the centerpiece of the arms race. If we can trust the analysis of American journalists in wanting a treaty and a summit, the American Administration would like to wrap up its tenure in a mantle of peacemaker, while at the same time assigning top priority to Star Wars, and to the restructuring of the Soviet strategic forces. [sentence as received] Time will show whether such an analysis of the American position is correct.

Accord Called 'Tangible Step'

LD162147 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 16 Sep 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by V. Lobachenko, identified by screen caption]

[Text] [Lobachenko] The Soviet-U.S. talks continue today in Washington at the U.S. State Department. They started yesterday with a conversation between Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. Two plenary sessions between the Soviet and U.S. delegations are to be held today. As Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze told journalists, we have reached greater mutual understanding, but there are still many unresolved issues. In his turn, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz noted that the overall tone of the discussions had been frank [otkrovenyy], businesslike and constructive.

In the White House there was a meeting between U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze. He presented the U.S. President with a personal message from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. During the conversation, ways of normalizing and developing Soviet-U.S. relations and the attainment of an accord in the most important area—arms limitation and reduction—were discussed. At the signing ceremony in the White House Rose Garden, Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze and George Shultz signed the Soviet-U.S. agreement on the establishment in Moscow and in Washington of nuclear risk reduction centers and two protocols to that. Addressing the signing ceremony, Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze said, specifically:

[Begin Shevardnadze recording] The signing by us of this agreement marks a tangible step in the practical implementation of the understanding Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and you, Mr President, reached in Geneva. You both said a nuclear war should never be fought. Let us hope the agreement being signed today will help us to move further toward that historic goal. This is a sign that may be a prelude to more important agreements, in particular, agreements on the reduction of nuclear arsenals, as the CPSU Central Committee general secretary and the U.S. President agreed in Reykjavik. The most important thing is to do the utmost for this really to happen to the satisfaction of our peoples and the entire world community. [end recording]

[Lobachenko] In his speech, U.S. President Ronald Reagan said that yet another step has been taken in efforts to

reduce the possibility of conflict arising as a result of an accident, miscalculation, or misunderstanding. Nuclear risk reduction centers will play an important role in further lessening the risk of conflict arising between the United States and the Soviet Union. This agreement complements our continuing efforts in Geneva to achieve for the first time profound, equitable, and effectively verifiable reductions in Soviet and U.S. nuclear arsenals.

PRAVDA Comments on Agreement

PM161207 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Sep 87 Second Edition p 4

["An Important Step Along the Path of Strengthening Trust"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text]On September 15, 1987, Eduard Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR foreign minister, and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz signed a Soviet-American agreement for setting up nuclear risk reduction centers and two protocols to it.

This was the successful conclusion of consultations and subsequent official talks decided upon in principle by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan during their meeting in Geneva in November 1985.

What is the new Soviet-U.S. agreement signed in Washington all about?

It provides for creating a new mechanism for promptly relaying notifications—on the basis of Soviet-American agreements already in effect—of activities in the military field that can be misinterpreted by the other side, which can, for its part, add to the nucelar threat. The transmission of such information via a single channel—through the centers being set up—will furnish extra possibilities to prevent and remove dangerous situations. This is why in the preamble to the agreement the sides reiterated their desire to reduce and eventually eliminate the risk of outbreak of nuclear war, in particular as a result of a mistake, miscalculation, or accident.

Specifically, the agreement makes the following arrangements: In keeping with the agreement, each side will set up in its capital a national nuclear risk reduction center of its own. The center will function on behalf and under the control of its respective government. The staff of the national center will be formed as the side setting it up will see fit to ensure the center's normal functioning.

It is provided that at this stage the centers will be used to transmit notifications of ballistic missile launches under Article 4 of the Agreement on Measures to Reduce the Risk of Outbreak of Nuclear War between the USSR and the United States of September 30, 1971, that is planned missile launches if they are carried out beyond national territory in the direction of the other side. Besides, the centers will relay notifications of ballistic missile launches under Paragraph 1 of Article 6 of the Soviet-American Intergovernmental Agreement on Measures to Prevent Incidents at Sea and in Air space over it of May 25, 1972, that is missile launches threatening shipping or air traffic. This does not, of course, cancel the existing practice of notifications used by the USSR and the United States in keeping with the 1972 agreement in relation to all other countries.

Much importance belongs to the provision in the new agreement, under which each side may, at its own discretion, as a gesture of goodwill and with a view to strengthening trust, use the centers to transmit, apart from the aforementioned notifications, also other messages.

This information will be relayed via a special facsimile communications line to be established between the Soviet and the American centers. The agreement details the specific technical and operating parameters of this line.

All this means that another prompt communications line is being set up between the USSR and the United States for exchanges on matters directly related to ensuring stability and mutual trust. It should be stressed that the centers' operations will not duplicate in any way the functions of the existing direct communications line between Moscow and Washington, which makes it possible for the leaderships of the USSR and the United States to get immediately in touch with each other in the event of emergencies.

The conclusion of the Soviet-American agreement on nuclear risk reduction centers cannot but arouse satisfaction. A significant step has been made along the confidence-building path. It should, of course, be borne in mind that confidence-building measures per se cannot check the on-going arms race. Experience demonstrates that the continuation, let alone escalation, of military rivalry and its extension to new spheres are the principal cause of instability on the international scene. Confidence-building measures become really effective if they are taken in a context of practical accords in the field of real disarmament.

There is a simple law at work here: the lower the level of military, above all nuclear, confrontation the greater the mutual confidence and ooportunities for establishing peaceful cooperation between states in various fields.

This is why the joint Soviet-U.S. statement adopted at the summit level on November 21, 1985 said that the sides had agreed to study the question at the expert level of centers to reduce nuclear risk considering the issues and developments in the Geneva negotiations. The time that has passed since the Geneva meeting underscored the farsightedness of that decision.

Due to far-reaching Soviet initiatives taken recently, realistic prospects have taken shape in the Soviet-U.S. negotiations on nuclear and space arms for achieving accords in all directions, first of all, on medium- and shorter-range missiles. Thus, there are grounds to regard

the signing of the center agreement as a natural step, saying that major Soviet-American accords in disarmament are, as it seems, within reach, naturally if the American side, too, strives for that.

In this regard, it is appropriate to recall that, for example, the agreement on establishing a direct communications line between the governments of the USSR and the U.S. was reached at the time when the work to conclude the treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, outer space, and underwater was nearing completion in June 1963.

The 1971 Agreement on Measures to Reduce the Risk of Outbreak of Nuclear War Between the USSR and the USA—the name of that document speaks for itself—constitutes the direct result of the SALT conducted at that time and ended with the signing of the SALT I agreements in May 1972. Thus, the confidence-building measures taken back then were supplemented with tangible steps on nuclear arms limitation. This is exactly what should be done now.

It should be said that one of the characteristic features of the agreement on the centers is its intrinsic and organic interrelation with future agreements between the USSR and the U.S. on nuclear arms limitation and reduction. This is reflected in the provision to the effect that in the future the list of notifications transmitted through the centers can be, by agreement between the parties, changed as relevant new agreements will be reached. In other words, the communications line between the centers can be used as a channel for transmitting information required during the implementation of agreements that are not here as yet, but which can be worked out.

The conclusion of the agreement on establishing the centers to reduce nuclear risk unquestionably constitutes a positive step in developing Soviet-American relations—and for that matter on the international plane as a whole—for the agreement on measures to reduce the risk of outbreak of nuclear war promotes the interests of enhancing security everywhere in the world.

In this sense, the reiteration in the preamble to the agreement on nuclear risk reduction centers of the understanding reached at the summit level to the effect that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought is of principled importance.

As to the Soviet side, it is fully determined to do everything to consistently proceed to rid mankind of the threat of annihilation and to work toward realizing the program for eliminating nuclear weapons before the end of the current century—the program put forth by Mikhail Gorbachev on January 15, 1986. It is our conviction that in the campaign against the nuclear threat not a single opportunity or a single chance should be missed.

The successfully completed Soviet-American talks on the centers demonstrate that, given goodwill of both sides, USSR-U.S. agreements from which the cause of peace will benefit are quite possible, despite the difficulties on the road to them. The main thing here is the political readiness of both sides to seek and ultimatley find the necessary decisions and breakthroughs in the interests of ensuring a secure and safe future for all the nations.

Hence, this broad positive response evoked in the world by the news about the signing of the Soviet-American agreement on nuclear risk reduction centers.

Arms Ban Discussed

LD162346 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2318 GMT 16 Sep 87

[Text] Washington, 17 Sep (TASS)—The Soviet-U.S. talks being conducted by E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz continued in the U.S. capital on Wednesday. On that day, the heads of the two countries' foreign policy departments had two one-on-one meetings. Two plenary sessions of the two sides' delegations were held. Problems of nuclear disarmament, a nuclear test ban, a chemical weapons ban, the reduction of conventional armed forces, and some regional questions were discussed during the sessions.

Working groups continued a detailed study of a number of specific measures.

U.S. 'Obstacles' Remain on Treaty

LD162326 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1848 GMT 16 Sep 87

[From the "World Today" presented by Vladimir Tsvetov]

[Text] Hello, comrades. You already know from our broadcasts that Comrade Shevardnadze, USSR foreign affairs minister, has started talks in Washington with his U.S. colleague Shultz. The exchange of views touches on a broad range of issues concerned with nuclear and space weapons. Among them, the attention of the world press is being drawn especially to the issue of medium-range missiles and operational-tactical missiles. That is natural, inasmuch as the USSR and the United States are closest to a treaty on eliminating those two classes of weapons. Indeed, they have come a long way toward a treaty, but obstacles still remain. The main obstacle is the absence, for the time being, of agreement on verification [kontrol].

On 14 September, President Reagan said the U.S. representative at the Geneva talks had tabled a proposal on inspection, which is essential for effective monitoring [proverka] of the observance of the treaty. The essence of the proposal has still not been announced. As far as the Soviet approach to verification [kontrol] is concerned, it is characterized by the following basic tenets: reciprocal visits by inspectors to enterprises at which missiles have been produced; and access for inspectors to places where missiles are deployed [razvertyvaniye], both on their own territory and on the territory of third countires, including U.S. military bases.

There are divergences, too, on some other aspects of the treaty under discussion. For example, the United States proposes eliminating operational-tactical missiles in 1 year, and medium-range missiles in 3 years. Our schedules are 1 year and 5 years, respectively. The United States does not include the sense of destruction of warheads in the concept of the elimination of missiles. We are insisting on the destruction of launchers, the missiles themselves, and the warheads for them. The United States would like to keep its warheads for 72 West German Pershing-1A missiles. We, however, are striving for their destruction, too. Those are the main divergences in the positions of the USSR and the United States, which are also the object of discussion in Washington between the two ministers of foreign affairs.

Joint U.S. Consultative Group Meets
LD161502 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1415 GMT 16 Sep 87

[Text] Geneva, 16 Sep (TASS)—A routine session of the Soviet-U.S. Permanent Consultative Commission began here today. The commission was set up in accordance with the memorandum of understanding between the Governments of the USSR and the United States of 21 December 1972 to facilitate the process of implementing the goals and provisions of the agreements concluded between the USSR and the United States on limiting strategic arms and on measures to lessen the danger of a nuclear war breaking out.

U.S. 'Logjams' Bar Guatemalan Plan
LD151345 Moscow TASS in English 1332 GMT 15 Sep 87

[Text] Moscow September 15 TASS—By a TASS diplomatic correspondent:

American Administration officials have repeatedly spoken of late on the Guatemalan agreement.

While welcoming the accord, Washington officials would like to accompany its observance with a number of reservations.

Logjams are being erected in the way of the peaceful settlement in Central America as it is the Guatemalan agreement that is one of the first actual steps made by the region's countries towards achieving mutually acceptable agreements with a view to defusing dangerous tensions in Central America.

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, addressing the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said, in particular, that the Guatemalan agreement did not take into account the national interests of the United States.

So American officials now demand that the Guatemalan agreement be supplemented with new provisions envisaging that there be no Soviet military presence in Nicaragua and that there have been no Soviet military bases in Nicaragua.

That is why all claims to the contrary are distortions of the reality. Nicaragua poses no military threat to its neighbours.

If Washington is really worried over the threat to the interests of its national security or the security of Central American countries, Nicaragua's neighbours, the Guatemalan agreement is directed precisely at securing these interests.

The agreement provides, in particular, for the elaboration of specific accords on maintaining peace in the region.

Near East & South Asia

Perez de Cuellar Mission, Gulf Fighting
PM161307 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Sep 87 Morning Edition p 1

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Reports From Abroad": "The Persian Gulf: The Tension Is Not Abating"]

[Excerpt] UN Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar has completed his final round of talks with the Iraqi leaders at the end of his visit to Tehran and Baghdad to seek ways to settle the conflict between the two countries.

Reporting from Baghdad, *Reuter* quotes an official UN spokesman as saying that J. Perez de Cuellar "has detected a certain change in Tehran's position, although it is possibly not enough to end the hostilities." The main problem hampering the UN secretary general's mission is still the "question of who started the 7-year war," the agency writes.

The Iranian leadership insists that Iraq is the aggressor. In his turn, Iraqi President S. Husayn has said: "The facts prove that the war was begun by the Iranian regime, which unleashed the aggression." The sides cannot even agree on the date the war actually began: Iraq says it was 4 September 1980 while Iran says it was 22 September 1980.

During the talks with the UN secretary general, the Iraqi representatives demanded the "fulfillment of the spirit and letter" of UN Security Council Resolution 598, which stipulates a cease-fire on the Iran-Iraq front and the withdrawal of troops to internationally recognized borders followed by peace talks. Iran has still to officially reject this resolution, but it has not accepted it either.

The agency reports that J. Perez de Cuellar will give details of the results of his trip to the UN Security Council on his return to New York.

Meanwhile, combat operations continue on the Iran-Iraq front. According to INA, Iraqi troops have repelled an Iranian offensive in the front's central region. Baghdad has also reported an Iranian artillery attack on the city of Basra, while Tehran has reported casualties among the civilian population of three Iranian cities as a result of an Iraqi attack. [passage omitted]

'Vremya' News on AN-26 Downed by Stinger

LD162106 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 16 Sep 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast; Mikhail Leshchinskiy video report]

[Text] As we have already reported, an Afghan AN-26 transport passenger airplane was shot down in the skies of Afghanistan on 13 September. Here is our correspondent Mikhail Leshchinskiy's report:

[Begin recording] The latest tragedy in the skies of Afghanistan turned out to be connected with this building in the center of Kabul which houses the State Bank of Afghanistan. It was from here that a large sum of money—suffice it to say that it weighed about 2 tonnes—was put on board the AN-26 plane. It was destined as payment for the working people and peasants in the province of Konduz. But as the aircraft was touching down at Konduz Airport it was shot down by a missile.

As you can see, even the black boxes suffered in the disaster. They were smashed open and the instruments and recording devices were destroyed by the fire. However, an authoritative commission under General Fattah has come to the unanimous conclusion that the plane was shot down by a U.S. Stinger anti-aircraft missile which exploded in the right engine. This is borne out by the nature of the damage, the testimony of witnesses, and the sound recording of a radio exchange with ground control. Twenty-three seconds before the disaster the commander informed ground control about the missile strike. In those 23 seconds the crew continued to fight for the lives of the passengers trying to extinguish the burning aircraft. However, having lost direction, it struck the ground just 6 km from the airport. Six members of the crew and nine passengers were killed, including two women and two bank employees who had accompanied the valuable cargo.

The terror in the skies of Afghanistan, which has been unleashed as a result of an increase in supplies of U.S. and British anti-aircraft missiles to the dushmans, has this year alone claimed the lives of 250 completely innocent people.[end recording]

Writers Interview DRA's Najib

PM161120 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Sep 87 p 14

[Interview with PDPA Central Committee General Secretary Najib by Soviet writers Kim Selikhov, Safar Barnoyev, Utegen Kumisbayev, Stanislav Kunyayev, Valeriy Povolyayev, Garold Registan, and Vera Feonova during 17-31 August visit to Afghanistan: "Najib: 'The Only True Path'"—date, place of interview not given; interview recorded by K. Selikhov; first four paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] A USSR literature festival was held in Afghanistan 17 through 31 August, to mark the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Taking part in the festival was a delegation of Soviet writers comprising: Kim Selikhov (head of the delegation), Safar Barnoyev, Utegen Kumisbayev, Stanislav Kunyayev, Valeriy Povolyayev, Garold Registan, and Vera Feonova.

The Soviet writers told a wide audience of the most diverse strata of the Afghan population about Soviet multinational literature in the year of the 70th anniversary of October, and about the restructuring policy in the USSR.

Meetings with workers and peasants, young people, the intelligentsia, Afghan Army servicemen, and a group of repatriates took place in a warm, friendly atmosphere. The festival program included creative meetings with Afghan writers, a television roundtable, and a press conference with representatives of the Afghan press, radio, and television.

A conversation took place between the Soviet writers and PDPA Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Najib, who answered questions about the situation in Afghanistan.

[Interviewers] During our stay in your country we have formed the impression from meetings and frank talks with various people that the policy of national reconciliation is acquiring concrete forms and a nationwide character and is supported by all strata of Afghan society. Could you tell us about the results and problems of the policy of national reconciliation?

[Najib] Indeed, the policy of national reconciliation proclaimed by the People's Democratic Party and the government of Afghanistan has met with the full support and warm approval of the Afghan people. The people have called the policy of national reconciliation humane. It is like the first ray of peace and hope to penetrate the leaden clouds of war. The guns have not been silent on Afghanistan's soil for 8 years. Eight years of tears and mourning in every Afghan family. Thousands of gravestones. Thousands of destroyed houses and schools, mosques and hospitals—that is what the undeclared war has brought to my people, a war unleashed by the forces of counterrevolution with the blessing and the generous military assistance of imperialist circles headed by the United States and regional reaction.

People are tired of the burdens of war, the land is choking on blood, the rocks groan with pain. In the crucial hour of mortal danger we chose the only true path, the path of ending the fratricidal war, the path of reconciliation. We are supported first and foremost by the clergy: The holy Koran uses the word "peace" 64 times, and the word "war" not once. The idea of reconciliation is common to all mankind, we were the first to proclaim this policy, and we had no formulas, we had to learn it in practice. Angola, Cambodia, and the five Central American countries have already expressed interest in our experience.

Not much time has elapsed since the declaration of the policy of national reconciliation, but the grain sown by

the good hand is already producing its first shoots. Some 30,000 armed people have stopped shooting at their brothers and sons. Some 600 gangs and formations have ceased their resistance to the people's power. A truce agreement has been signed with another 217 armed groups. About 90,000 people who had formerly raised their hands against their people are observing the truce and conducting talks. A total of 1,335 villages have been liberated by peaceful means, and people's power elections have been held there. Representatives of all strata of Afghan society work on the national reconciliation commissions, and they include more than 6,000 people who were in the opposing camp.

The motherland is now receiving into its arms hundreds of unfortunate Afghans whom the war forced to leave the country, who sought happiness abroad and did not find it. As yet, 83,777 people have returned from abroad. Special hotels for the temporary lodging of repatriates have been built in Kabul, Herat, Jalalabad, and Qandahar. The state is allocating financial grants and making free transportation available to take people to their permanent place of residence. Every repatriate is given a job. And nobody reminds their compatriots of the past, even if they fought against the people's power.

The national reconciliation process would proceed considerably more effectively if it were not for the dushman covering forces and the reactionary forces of certain neighboring countries barring its path. People are having to return to the homeland by secret paths, many of them meeting death from enemy bullets before they have even crossed the threshold of their home. Using terror, torture, and promises of money, the counterrevolution is doing everything possible to prevent the sons and daughters of the motherland from returning home and to thwart the policy of national reconciliation. But, just as stone dams in the mountains are powerless in the face of the spring storm flood, so our enemies' attempts to stop the nationwide movement for peace in our land are powerless today.

[Interviewers] We have seen wide discussion among Afghan public circles of the draft new constitution, the proposals on the creation of a coalition government with the participation of opposition groups, and the recently adopted law on the legalization of political parties. Please tell us about these documents in more detail.

[Najib] Today we are at a new stage in the development of a free and independent state based on the policy of national reconciliation. The draft new constitution reflects the age-old aspirations of our compatriots. Broad discussion of this draft is under way among workers and peasants, servicemen in the people's army, the intelligentsia, young people, and the clergy. In the course of the nationwide discussion thousands of concrete proposals have been put forward, aimed at improving people's life and strengthening peace and unity for the sake of the fatherland's well-being. The draft new constitution devotes particular attention to the nationalities question. Afghanistan's territory has long been inhabited by a large, multilingual family: Pashto, Tajik, Hazara, Uzbek, Baluchi, Turkmen, Nuristani, Pashai, and other ethnic groups. The new law ensures the resolution of the nationalities question on the basis of friendship, cooperation, and fraternity of all nationalities, ethnic groups, and tribes in the country. They play an equal part in political, economic, social, and cultural life. The draft DRA constitution establishes the equality of all the country's citizens regardless of nationality.

The future constitution guarantees the right of all working people to freedom of religion, education, and labor, and promotes the development of both the state and the private sector of the economy. The state will guarantee peasants the right to land. For nomads and stockmen, every opportunity to use the pastures is being created.

We will seek good-neighborliness and the expansion of ties with peace-loving countries, and will strengthen the traditional friendship with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

The draft constitution emphasizes that Afghanistan is a nonaligned country, does not enter into military blocs, and does not allow the creation of foreign military bases on its territory.

There now exist in the country the conditions for a real, effective coalition of all democratic and patriotic forces. This coalition could lead to an end to the fratricidal war, ensure the normalization of the situation in the country, and embark on the resolution of urgent national problems. The military and political forces currently in opposition to the people's power will be able to form part of the coalition government if they pledge to serve the principles of reconciliation. Only the fanatical opponents of the people's power and the policy of national reconciliation will remain outside the coalition. Our people's activity toward the reconciliation is offering very interesting and sometimes surprising examples. The formation of coalition rule began at the bottom, in the front line of confrontation, and is gradually developing along a line from village, to region, to district, to province, to country. We already have examples of coalition rule in a number of districts and provinces. Five ministers who worked under the old regime are working in the republic Council of Ministers.

The prerequisites are ripe in the country for the legalization of a number of parties and organizations which have been operating for many years and intend to promote the acceleration of the national reconciliation process. We do not insist that these parties agree fully with the PDPA on questions of theory, strategy, and tactics—they may have their own views. But one thing is certain: Every party or organization is obliged to support the goal common to us all—the restoration of peace in Afghanistan, national sovereignty, independence, the policy of nonalignment, and the development of good relations with neighboring countries.

Our concept of coalition power is not propaganda, not a tactical maneuver, not deception, and not a ruse, it is an honest, open, long-term policy. We have solemnly

announced that we are ready to share power with left-wing democratic, centrist, and monarchist forces. Coalition rule is a political expression of the nationwide will for peace, it is a compromise, not from a position of weakness, but from a position of reason.

[Interviewers] What is the role of cultural personalities and writers in the implementation of the national reconciliation policy?

[Najib] One important gain of the April Revolution was—for the first time in Afghanistan's history—the creation of unions of the creative intelligentsia, including the Association of Writers of Afghanistan. From the earliest days of the revolution Afghan writers demonstrated their high patriotism. A good many writers combine creative activity with political and state work. The PDPA Central Committee and the Afghan Government value highly the intelligentsia's participation in the propagandization of the national reconciliation policy. The PDPA Central Committee Politburo assessed positively the work of the Second Afghan Writers' Congress, which demonstrated high creative activeness in the resolution of urgent tasks, particularly the establishment of peace on Afghan soil. A great event in the country's cultural life was the elections of the first academicians and corresponding members of the DRA Academy of Sciences. These titles of honor were conferred on our country's most important writers—Sulayman Laeq, Dastagir Panjsheri, and Asadullah Habib. We particularly appreciate the Afghan writers' efforts to make contact with colleagues who have left the motherland for various reasons. We think that the voice of writers calling for reconciliation will be heard not only in our country, but beyond its bounds.

[Interviewers] We know that preparations are under way for an all-party PDPA conference on national reconciliation. What is of concern to the PDPA members today? What instructions are they giving to their delegates to the coming party forum?

[Najib] It has recently become the practice in our party life to submit the most important questions of party and state life to all PDPA members for wide discussion. Thus in April of this year party meetings were held throughout the country with the same agenda: the implementation of the national reconciliation policy in Afghanistan. Taking part in the meetings of primary organizations were all the members of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo, members of the PDPA Central Committee, ministers, and military leaders. In the course of these meetings party leaders were asked 33,800 questions, which we studied carefully in the PDPA Central Committee Politburo and which we answered not only for the PDPA Members, but for a wide audience through the radio, television, newspapers, and journals. The party members' speeches at the meetings and the resolutions adopted displayed the united will of the people and all the party to end the bloodshed. Finding itself faced with a dilemma: life or self-destruction for the people, the party made its choice in favor of life, and therefore in favor of the policy of national reconciliation.

Today, in the course of the elections of delegates to the all-party conference, we have once again seen the strength of our party and its members' awareness of the meaning and significance of the policy of national reconciliation, the problems posed today by the times, and also the ways of resolving them. It is gratifying that the local conferences have taken place to a high standard, with broad glasnost, in a spirit of democratism, criticism, and self-criticism. The many questions discussed at the conferences included questions of the party's role and place in the period of national reconciliation, the attitude toward a future government of national unity, and the PDPA's relationship with other parties and groups.

At the party conferences questions of the personal responsibility of every PDPA member for the people's future, the strengthening of work among the people's masses and in the army, and the struggle against bureaucracy and corruption were raised.

The all-party conference will adopt a detailed program for the PDPA's activity in the process of national reconciliation, and also the new party statute.

At the regional conferences many proposals were put forward on the PDPA's work style and methods in the conditions of the coalition method of government. We are satisfied with how the discussions are going, since all questions are being discussed democratically, actively, energetically, and warmly. Nobody is standing aloof. I must say that after all-around discussion not all the delegates to the conference were elected unanimously, there were rejections too. The party collectives nominate their candidates and the PDPA leadership listens to the opinion of the party masses. At two or three conferences an immature section of delegates spoke from a factional position, but they were rebuffed.

[Interviewers] The draft new constitution says that Afghanistan's religion is the sacred religion of Islam. What conditions have been created for believers for the performance of religious rites, and what is the role of the patriotically minded clergy in the policy of national reconciliation?

[Najib] All the people's power documents say clearly and frankly: The party and power consider Islam a sacred religion, they guarantee the people all the conditions for the spread of Islam, the performance of religious rites, pilgrimage, the restoration of destroyed mosques and madrasahs and the construction of new ones, and the assistance of the clergy in their noble peacemaking activity. We back up every word with deeds. For the first time in the country's history an Islamic scientific research and teaching center has been set up, where the study of Islam and the training of cadres for the clergy are organized. The state has taken on the expenses of maintaining the theological faculty at Kabul University and 20 madrasahs. In recent years 1,226 mosques which were old or were destroyed by the counterrevolution have been restored and repaired, and 231 new ones have

been built. The state has allocated three times the funds allocated in the 50 years prior to the revolution for the purposes of aid. Our adherence to Islam is enshrined in the state coat of arms and flag, and it is manifested in the restoration of religious treasures and holy places. Half the expenditure involved in the pilgrimage to Mecca is paid for from the state budget. The dialogue between the state power and the clergy is widening. More than 1,000 mullahs and ulamas have been elected to the new organs of power and management. The clergy work actively on the Supreme Extraordinary Commission for National Reconciliation and the local commissions.

Life itself shows that it is not the April revolution and the power to which it gave birth that are hostile to Islam, but those who blow up mosques and kill priests.

[Interviewers] Our countries and peoples are linked by age-old friendly, good-neighborly relations. This friendship has recently undergone a new qualitative development. What forms does our countries' cooperation take today?

[Najib] Soviet Russia, headed by the great Lenin, was the first state to recognize Afghanistan's independence. At that time the British occupiers were prepared to split Afghanistan apart, and our people were on the brink of losing their independence and freedom. We then turned to our northern neighbor. To the neighbor whose friendship we inherited from our forebears—our fathers and grandfathers. After the ravages of three wars with the British, they understood the meaning of friendship and knew who the hand of friendship should be extended to. The Land of the Soviets remains true to its traditions. Both earlier and during the years of the revolution we received and continue to receive all-around assistance, from salt, matches, and sugar to combines and plants. Is there any other state that would have given us assistance on this scale? Is it not clear that the imperialist states, while allocating huge funds for the waging of fratricidal war in Afghanistan, will not give a dollar for the country's peaceful development? Are they likely to ship grain, sugar, butter, gasoline, and all the rest to our country in such quantities? No! They will only do that for vast profits.

In general, the question of Afghan-Soviet relations cannot be approached with the usual yardsticks or solely from a short-term standpoint. It must be approached from a position of objectivity and permanence, because under all regimes and at all times relations between Afghanistan and its northern neighbor have been stable, friendly, and mutually advantageous. Our countries were, are, and will remain good neighbors. Because however the situation develops, the fact that the two states have common interests remains unchanged, interests arising from geographical proximity, historical and economic mutual interest, and traditions of friendship.

We are witnessing the birth of new forms of cooperation with the Soviet Union. I have in mind the patronage of Soviet republics and oblasts over our provinces. These patronage ties must not only be seen in terms of ceremonial meetings and applause; our friends help us in everything: cadres, the resolution of socioeconomic questions, cultural life. Here I would like to emphasize the development of creative contacts between the Soviet and Afghan intelligentsia, especially between the writers of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. The constant exchange of delegations and the holding of reciprocal literature festivals in the two countries have already become traditional.

Your country expands its economic and technical aid to Afghanistan every year. The Afghan people will never forget your courageous servicemen, who answered the call of friendship and, shoulder to shoulder with Afghan soldiers, are rebuffing outside aggression and defending revolutionary gains in Afghanistan. We are pleased that many Soviet soldiers combine their difficult service in Afghanistan with peaceful labor, help our people to restore schools, houses, and mosques, and take part in agricultural work.

Good, close relations link our countries' young people and our children. Some 1,700 Afghan children have recently returned home after spending their summer vacation in your country's splendid pioneer camps. We warmly welcome envoys from the Soviet Komsomol in the form of a detachment of young construction workers who have come to Kabul to work in a construction combine.

[Interviewers] What is your attitude to literature? Busy as you are, do you find time for reading?

[Najib] Since my youth, literature has been a constant companion in my life. I particularly value the great writers of our country's literature. The force of their talent, their wisdom, their capacity for philosophical generalizations, their dreams of the people's happiness and justice, their glorification of permanent human values such as kindness, intelligence, and sincerity cannot leave the reader indifferent. And today their works serve the people, we find in them support for our sacred cause—national reconciliation. Here are some lines from the great Hafiz:

"Plant the tree of friendship,

"That hearts may bear fruit.

"Uproot the sapling of enmity,

"That it may not bring suffering..."

Or again:

"Peace on earth is founded

"On two truths:

"Learn to talk with your enemies,

"And to work with your friends..."

My acquaintance with Russian and Soviet literature has made a great impression on me. Gorkiy's books and Mayakovskiy's poetry moved me. It is a long time since I first came to know them, but to this day they remain my favorite writers. And of course, every good book helps a person to become an individual.

Despite being extremely busy, I adhere firmly to this rule: Use every spare minute for reading. Sometimes it is authors who are new to me, sometimes good old friends with whom I am reluctant to part.

U.S. Spreads Counterfeit Money in DRA

PM161331 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Sep 87 First Edition p 3

[V. Vinogradov "Rejoinder": "Counterfeiters"]

[Text] There are forgeries and forgeries, Washington evidently believes. For the black clouds of another conflict are looming large on the horizon of U.S.-Israeli relations. The boss on the other side of the Atlantic is again severely censuring the Zionist "strategic ally." And the reason for all this is forgery, or, to be precise, counterfeit dollars made in Israel.

It all began with a coincidence: In two countries thousands of kilometers apart, in Afghanistan and Egypt, a sharp increase in the number of forged bills was noticed. In the first case, it is true, they are afghanis, but in the second case they are U.S. dollars. And there is another coincidence. It turns out that local counterfeiters have nothing to do with it.

As for Afghanistan, the appearance of forged afghanis is explained, according to *The Washington Post*, by the fact that the CIA has embarked on a major operation involving forging and distributing Afghan paper money. In the context of this, as the paper points out, "top-secret program," it has already put millions of forged bills into circulation. They are ferried into DRA territory with the help of Afghan counterrevolutionaries. Before being sent in, The Washington Post says, the dushmans receive, together with weapons, ammunition, and Stingers, substantial amounts of forged afghanis which they have to distribute in Afghanistan.

The report in *The Washington Post* shows that the U.S. special services are prepared to use any dirty trick in the struggle against the Afghan people. By flooding the DRA with its "monetary product," the United States is attempting to cause inflation and a higher cost of living, to destabilize the economy, and ultimately to contribute to the fall of revolutionary power.

It must be mentioned here that economic sabotage, in particular the issuing and distribution of counterfeit money, is by no means a CIA invention. As is known, this dirty trick was widely used by Nazi Germany in subversive activity against the countries of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, including the United States. And the fact that the United States itself knows how dirty this method is can be judged by the way it is censuring Israel in connection with the appearance of large quantities of forged 100-dollar bills in Egypt. The people arrested by the Egyptian police have testified that they imported the forged money from Israel where a gang of counterfeiters is engaged in making it.

To all appearances, it did not come to deliberate economic sabotage, as it did in the DRA. But perhaps Washington was so furious with Israel because it was not making Egyptian pounds, but...

Iranian Envoy Meets With Vorontsov

LD161402 Tehran IRNA in English 1342 GMT 16 Sep 87

["Iran-USSR Denounce U.S. Mischiefs"—IRNA headline]

[Text] Tehran, Sept. 16, IRNA—Iranian ambassador to the Soviet Union met Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov in Moscow Wednesday morning and discussed with him the increasing trend in Tehran-Moscow ties as well as the Persian Gulf developments.

Among other topics discussed during the meeting was the recently concluded visit of U.N. Chief Perez de Cuellar to Tehran as well as future plans of the U.N. Security Council.

Both sides also condemned the U.S. for its recent imperialist moves in the region, blaming Washington for heightening tension in the Persian Gulf.

Arab People's Congress Chief on Aims

LD170822 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Arabic 1530 GMT 13 Sep

[Text] A delegation of the General Arab People's Congress, led by its secretary general, 'Umar al-Hamdi, is visiting our country at the invitation of the Soviet AAPSO committee. Our correspondent met 'Umar al-Hamdi and asked him to talk about the activities of this organization.

[Begin Al-Hamdi recording] The Arab People's Congress is a popular Arab nongovernmental organization which aims at uniting the ranks of Arab popular forces under the slogan of liberation, unity, peace, and progress. Being a nongovernmental organization it stems from the unity of the Arab nation, from the common destiny of the Arab nation, and from its struggles to change the conditions in the Arab homeland. (?Consequently) it is not limited to [word indistinct] of the Arab homeland—I mean regional borders which resulted from the Sykes-Picot agreement. It is an organization which transcends regional borders and aspires to mobilize Arab public opinion to make every effort to contain the unbalanced political situation and create new situations which will change the balance of forces in the region and realize the Arab nation's ambitions of unity, liberation, peace, and progress.

The most important of our activities is to act as a force for Arab public opinion—to organize meetings, dialogues, and seminars, anything that will awaken and deepen the awareness of the masses and mobilize them for their historic battle of destiny against the imperialist, Zionist, and reactionary assault.

We meet annually as a mass organization in accordance with a program based on our charter and plan which was endorsed by the first Arab People's Congress, founded in 1977. In accordance with this annual program, every organization [word indistinct] in its [word indistinct] and country to struggle, then we assess what we have accomplished, the problems and difficulties we have faced, and the efforts we have to make in the future. For example, we organized a number of seminars on Arab unity and political problems in the Arab region as well as meetings and debates. Dialogues have been going on for (?8) years on the unity of the PLO and on how the Palestinian people can reunite and continue the struggle through their united foundation—the PLO, their sole legitimate representative. Also, we are preparing this year [words indistinct] for the third session of the Arab People's Congress at which it will voice in a pan-Arab and democratic way its true and decisive determination to achieve its objective.

The General Secretariat of the Arab People's Congress has met more than once this year. The last meeting was on 1 and 2 September and it will meet again on 1, 2, and 3 November on the anniversary of the Balfour declaration to reactivate this inauspicious anniversary on which those who did not own gave to those who did not deserve—the British colonialist to the Zionist enemy—the land of Palestine. At the meeting, the secretariat will embark on preparations for the third session of the Arab People's Congress in addition to expressing solidarity with the Palestinian people.

The Arab People's Congress, as I mentioned, is a popular organization and, therefore, pan-Arab. It is active at the Arab level and also active at the international level within the international secretariat of solidarity with the Arab people and their central issue, Palestine. Organizations from all over the world participate in this organization, including organizations from socialist countries. For example, from the Soviet Union there is the Soviet AAPSO committee. At the level of the international secretariat we have (?set) an annual program which includes this meeting. In the coming period we will organize a joint seminar on the imperialist military presence in the Mediterranean and a seminar on the threat resulting from the strategic alliance between the United States [word indistinct] and Israel, not only to the Palestinian people but to all peoples of the world, especially the socialist bloc. [end recording]

Mideast CP's Hold Meeting in Athens

PM161509 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Sep 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting in Athens"]

[Text] Athens, 7 Sep—A meeting of representatives of communist and workers parties of countries in the East Mediterranean, the Middle East, the Near East, and the Red Sea region has been held here. Its participants exchanged opinions in connection with the exacerbated situation in the region, and in the Persian Gulf in particular, where the United States and other NATO countries are continuing to concentrate large-scale forces.

They pointed to the serious threat to world peace as a result of the militarist policy of imperialism, which is using the destructive Iran-Iraq war to build up its military presence in the region. The communist and workers parties' representatives advocated implementing UN Security Council Resolution 598 of 20 July 1987 on the immediate cessation of hostilities. They voiced support for the USSR's proposals aimed at establishing strong and lasting peace in the Near East, the Mediterranean, and throughout the world.

The communist and workers parties declared that they will continue the struggle in the front ranks of the popular movement in their own countries for peace, democracy, and social progress. A decision was made to convene the third conference of communist and workers parties of the East Mediterranean, the Near East, the Middle East, and the Red Sea region.

The participants in the meeting voiced solidarity with the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples and pointed to the great significance of the alliance between Syria and the Palestinian and patriotic forces of Lebanon in the struggle against imperialism and Zionism.

Izvestiya's Geyvendov on Mideast Policy

JN141047 Kuwait AL-ANBA' in Arabic 12 Sep 87 p 21

[Interview with Konstantin Geyvendov, IZVESTIYA commentator on Middle East affairs, in Moscow by Salam Musafir— date not given]

[Text] [Musafir] Recently there has been talk about new changes in the Soviet Union's Middle East policy. Can you point to the most prominent features that mark your country's policy in the area? What in your view is new in that policy?

[Geyvendov] I cannot say that our country has a new policy in the Middle East. I believe the political line we followed in the past is sound and correct and does not need to be changed or reconsidered. With regard to the Arab-Israeli conflict we proposed the convening of an international conference and we have called for a comprehensive solution that is just for all the parties concerned. The idea has met with international support. It is still the best idea for resolving the conflict.

However, one can say that recently, after analyzing the situation in the area, we formulated new views and reached the conclusion that our Middle East policy for the past years needs to be more dynamic and should yield tangible results. We concluded that the Middle East conflict is the basis of all that is happening in the area: In other words, we are now moving with greater flexibility than in the past. We have achieved success on that road: For instance, restoring unity to the PLO ranks and helping to make the latest PNC meetings successful. We view with satisfaction UN support for our Middle East stand that calls for convening an international conference in which all the parties concerned take part, including, of course, the PLO.

[Musafir] How do you view the U.S. and Israeli stand totally or partially rejecting the international conference?

[Geyvendov] Neither the United States nor Israel can take a negative stand toward convening the international conference indefinitely. They are maneuvering and their rejection is fragile. However, the idea of an international conference remains credible, for it is still being discussed. With the exception of Shamir's stand, the Israeli people support the idea. There is a positive response to the proposal in Israel. [Musafir] Are you optimistic that the conference will convene within the next few months?

[Geyvendov] The conference might not convene this year. I personally believe that it will convene next year. It all depends on our efforts. The other basic issue is the stand of the Arab countries. If the Arabs do not unify their stands I believe the conference will not convene as quickly as we hope and we cannot talk about big successes. In my assessment, the Arabs' central question is the Palestine question—it is the number one pan-Arab problem. The Arabs must mobilize their efforts and close ranks around this issue.

Regrettably, 5 years after the Fes summit we see that most of its resolutions have not been implemented. We can do nothing without our Arab friends. On the other hand, the United States cannot impose its conditions and stands if the Arab stands are unified. Let us take the Iraq-Iran war as an example. We deeply regret the differences in the Arab stands vis-a-vis this war. All parties call for an end to the war, but few of them really work to stop it. I believe that only the Arabs can play a decisive role in resolving regional crises.

[Musafir] Some people believe that the success of Soviet policies in the Middle East is the result of U.S. failures in the region. How do you view this equation?

[Geyvendov] I do not believe that the U.S. policy in the Middle East has collapsed. The Americans have made many mistakes in the Middle East. These mistakes, which completely contradict with the interests of the regional peoples, have opened the eyes of the leaders of the Middle East countries and proven to them the soundness and effectiveness of the Soviet initiatives in the region. We believe that these initiatives completely converge with the interests, security, and independence of the regional peoples. The leaders of those people have understood our initiatives and highly evaluated them. We do not seek to fill a gap in the region as some people might think. We do not want to occupy positions vacated by the French, the British, or the Americans.

[Musafir] You worked in the Arab homeland for a long time. Do you believe that the Soviet policy has made certain mistakes in the Middle East?

[Geyvendov] Yes, I worked in Lebanon in particular. I believe that all the Arab world converges in Lebanon. I do not believe that we committed big political mistakes in Lebanon. It happened at one time when we did not accurately and specifically assess a specific situation or we did not pay attention to certain pecularities prevailing the region.

[Musafir] Reference has been made to certain errors committed against Egypt, such as arms supplies.

[Geyvendov] We did not only send arms to Egypt. We also built major industries which time proved to be of great benefit to Egypt. Errors have indeed been committed in our internal economic policy and we are speaking frankly about them these days. Our country's main policy in dealing with Egypt in the political, economic, and military fields has always been sound, just as it has been sound concerning the Middle East in general. We have affirmed that the Arab states are the victims of Israeli aggression and the target of imperialist and Zionist pressure. We called for the need to remove the effects of the aggression and we upheld a just and comprehensive solution and also the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arab people. Our policy could not have been otherwise, because the Middle East is the gateway to our country and the region closest to our southern border.

[Musafir] The different stands on strategic parity between the Arabs and the Zionist state still cast their shadow on Arab-Soviet relations, and pro-Soviet Arabs still demand this parity. How do you view this Arab demand?

[Geyvendov] I do not know what prevents the Arabs from achieving this strategic parity with Israel. The USSR is not preventing this. We are giving sophisticated weapons to the Arabs. They are almost the most modern weapons. Most of the time we hear that the USSR is giving only defense weapons to the Arabs. I personally cannot understand what weapons should be given to the Arabs so they can achieve strategic parity with Israel. Actually, this parity already exists as far as I believe. It is enough to remember that there about 200 million Arabs while Israel does not have more than 3 and 1/2 million.

[Musafir] But Israel has a nuclear weapon?

[Geyvendov] Even if Israel has nuclear weapons, I do not believe it will use them. If it uses them, it will perish. This is not a joke. The Chernobyl incident has proved

that nuclear weapons are not a joke. Even if Israel were to use the nuclear weapon against Iraq, the nuclear fallout would reach it. What is happening is that Israel is using the information about possession of the nuclear weapon as a means of deception and blackmail. Mikhail Gorbachev has made a proposal calling for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons by the end of this century. Therefore, it is naive to imagine that the USSR would give nuclear weapons to its friends. In our opinion, the talk about strategic parity aims at diverting attention from the question of achieving security and peace in the Middle East. I hope you will understand me well. I do not want to antagonize anyone. I repeat that the talk about strategic parity does not have any meaning. This is because the Arabs can achieve parity through the unity of their stands and by establishing good neighborly relations. The main thing is that the Arabs should concentrate on their strength in order to achieve the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. If this is not acheived, then neither the Arabs nor Israel can acheive peace in the region.

[Musafir] Do you believe that Soviet-Israeli relations will normalize in the foreseeable future so that diplomatic realtions with Tel Aviv could be restored?

[Geyvendov] We hear the tune of restoring relations with Israel from Israeli leaders. It is pure fabrication and extortion. Yes, we have social relations with Israel. We also exchange cultural and sports delegations, and we hold consultations on convening the international conference. That is because we believe that without Israel there can be no international conference on the Middle East. Such consultations are necessary. Our stand is firm on the question of resumption of diplomatic relations: Relations will be resumed when the reasons that led to their severance no longer exist. That is, when the process of eliminating the consequences of the 1967 aggression begins—as part of a Middle East settlement in accordance with UN resolutions that call for Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territory.

[Musafir] Do you have any hopes that Tel Aviv will accept the formula and framework of the international conference as proposed by Moscow?

[Geyvendov] I believe that Israel will ultimately be compelled to acquiesce to the convening of the conference, because the failure to convene the conference will mean a new round of wars with the Arabs. Regrettably, the present volatile situation in the Gulf deflects attention from the basic Middle East problem. What is important is to stop the Iraqi-Iranian war and implement Resolution 598.

[Musafir] How do you view the Iranian stand on Resolution 598?

[Geyvendov] According to one view, Iranian flexibility on ending the war is merely one of the repeated Iranian maneuvers. According to another view, Iran is really serious in seeking to end the war that has brought it enormous losses. I personally support the second view. Seven years of war is not a short period, particularly in the present age when the most lethal and destructive weapons are being used. According to my information, the two sides have sustained more than 1 million dead in the war.

[Musafir] How do you assess the situation in Iran? How do you explain Iran's repeated rejection of peace overtures?

[Geyvendov] I am not an expert on the situation in Iran. As to why Iran rejects peace overtures, I believe the war played an important role in rallying the forces around the regime. Under the slogan of the existence of an external enemy, the Iranian leadership has been able to liquidate its political foes. What is happening in Iran concerns the Iranians. What concerns us is the issue of exporting the Islamic revolution to neighboring countries. In our view when such a slogan becomes an objective it becomes harmful and destructive. We are opposed to the so-called export of the revolution. I believe one should not remain silent on that kind of Iranian threat.

[Musafir] There is a general belief that solving the Middle East problem cannot be achieved without solving the Afghan problem which is currently considered the difficult equation in the region. How do you view this opinion?

[Geyvendov] I totally agree with it. I believe that the Middle East dispute is the root of other disputes in Afghanistan and the Gulf. These disputes are links in one chain. If an acceptable agreement has been reached for the situation in Afghanistan and its surrounding regions, this will undoubtedly affect the situation in the Middle East. We believe that halting foreign interference in Afghanistan's affairs is the key to the solution. We note with satisfaction that negotiations between Pakistan and Afghanistan have taken large strides. Only the issue of a timetable for the withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Afghanistan is left. We are ready to do that immediately as soon as foreign interference stops.

[Musafir] As a journalist, what is your stand on Kuwait's legitimate anxiety over the exacerbation of the situation in the Arabian Gulf region?

[Geyvendov] We seek in our paper to explain Kuwait's stands on events to the Soviet reader. We know well that Kuwait's stand has been necessitated by the situation resulting from the Iraq-Iran war. We as a state understand Kuwait's stand as a country directly located near the military operations and exposed to Iranian threats which could turn into military operations against it. I believe the only guarantee for Kuwait's security is to halt the war. When we speak about the U.S. presence in the Gulf we do not threreby express a stand against Kuwait.

[Musafir] In the recent USSR Union of Journalists conference, voices were heard calling for the press political commentators' freedom to express opinions which

may differ from the central government orientations. How do you view this call? Can we say that *Izvestiya* exactly expresses the Soviet Government's stand if *Pravda* reflects the Communist Party's stand?

[Geyvendov] Every paper in our country, like any other country in the world, has a policy drawn up by the editorial staff. When I write as a commentator I reflect my personal opinion. Naturally this does not mean that my opinion conflicts with the stand of the editorial staff and the party's policy. Because I am a party member, my opinion does not conflict with the stand of the party and government. When I talked in my dialogue with you about our policy in the Middle East I reflected my opinion in our policy as a political commentator. Personally, I find no obstacles in expressing my viewpoints as a political commentator for *Izvestiya*. Our press in general reflects the socialist example.

[Musafir] What is your stand on the theory that the policy of detente between East and West will lead to freezing the class struggle on the world level, and consequently will lead to ideological settlements that conflict with the Leninist concept of inevitable conflict between the capitalist and communist systems?

[Geyvendov] We do not say that detente means freezing the class struggle on the world level, or that the two systems should relinquish their principles. According to our concept detente is an element that enables mankind to avoid World War III, the nuclear war that will destroy everything. We believe the ideological conflict will remain hot and will continue, but it will be a conflict fought with peaceful means. In order to influence the U.S. decision—and that is part of the ideological struggle to which we referred a short while ago. [sentence as published]

[Musafir] Do you not believe that Soviet peace initiatives can be construed as a series of concessions to the United States and NATO countries?

[Geyvendov] They are concessions stemming from sensible judgement, sound thinking, and a rational and sober view of the international situation. They are compatible with the new thinking policy of the nuclear age. However, they are not concessions to the United States and NATO countries.

[Musafir] And yet the response of Washington and allied Western capitals still remains negative?

[Geyvendov] I am confident that eventually they will listen to the sound of reason and their stand will become positive. We expect to reach in the very near future an agreement on medium-range missiles and a reasonable solution on the Pershing missiles. Ultimately we will find a common language with Washington.

[Musafir] What do you imagine the United States will be like after Reagan?

[Gevandev] It is difficult to predict who will succeed Reagan, and whether the Democrats will succeed in entering the White House. The U.S. elections campaign has just begun and it is difficult to give correct and sound views. Now we can only express our wishes. We hope that the coming administration will benefit from the mistakes of the Reagan administration, and we hope to reach agreements with it over the main issues on which there are differences, agreements that further the cause of world peace and security.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Zaykov Speaks to Ethiopian Assembly

PM161347 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Sep 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Proclaimed"]

[Text] Addis Ababa, 10 Sep—Soviet party and state delegation head L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, addressed this evening's sitting of the Ethiopian National Assembly session. The birth of a people's democratic republic on Ethiopia's ancient soil is a historic event in the life of the Ethiopian people, the Soviet delegation head said. A state has appeared on the map of the African continent which has made a choice in favor of the working people's interests, their happiness, and their future. A state which has firmly declared that it is a force championing the cause of peace and social justice.

The significance of this event extends far beyond your country. It convincingly demonstrates how ineradicable is the peoples' desire for social progress, democracy, and a better life not for a handful of exploiters but for millions of working people. This is why, dear friends, this festival of yours is also a joyful event for us Soviet people.

We have brought you most fraternal, most cordial congratulations from our party, from the Soviet leadership, from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. He has repeatedly emphasized that our attitude to the Ethiopian revolution is a special one.

We regard the Workers Party of Ethiopia [WPE] as an associate in the common struggle for the ideals of peace and social progress. The proclamation of the people's democratic republic marks the start of a new stage in the development of the Ethiopian revolution. We know how hard your path to people's power was. Hostile forces tried to smother the Ethiopian revolution in the cradle.

Ethiopia's working people, feeling for the first time that they were the country's masters, rose to defend it and upheld their motherland's unity and territorial integrity. Their will was not broken even by a very grave natural disaster—the most cruel drought which brought hunger and disease.

The results of the National Assembly elections attest that the Ethiopian people have made their choice. The policy pursued by the WPE and the path of major socioeconomic transformations of a progressive nature are

understandable and near to the working person and accord with his interests.

There are always plenty of people in the world who wish to pontificate on freedom and democracy. Now, too, there are people who like to lecture others on how to order their life and what path of development to follow.

But these "defenders" of democracy were not embarrassed by the yoke of feudalism which the monarchy imposed on the Ethiopian people.

And this is understandable, for what they mean by freedom and democracy is the totally unrestricted opportunity to rob other peoples and control their destiny in their own interests.

People in the West treat with imperious scorn the needs and aspirations of liberated states, cannot agree with the fact that irreversible changes have occurred in the world, try to preserve the old policy toward developing countries in new packaging, and interfere in their internal affairs.

But for the U.S. interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola, and other states, but for subversive actions against legitimate governments, things would be different in those countries. Regional conflicts would have been resolved more simply and quickly. Many of them would not have happened at all.

The peoples' right to determine their path of development, to determine the sociopolitical system which better suits them is a sacred right. Respect for this right is a necessary precondition for the normal development of international relations. The revolutionary renewals in Ethiopia meet with full understanding and sympathy in the Soviet Union.

You have always found and will find a true friend and ally in the Soviet people and their Communist Party! The Ethiopian people have had more than one opportunity to see this for themselves, and not only during the period of grave trials. The construction workers of the Melca-Vakan [name as published] Hydroelectric Power Station, the biggest in Ethiopia, being constructed with the Soviet Union's assistance, know well our comradely support. It is known by those who sought gas in the Ogaden together with Soviet geologists and who are now seeking oil with them there. It is known by thousands of Ethiopian workers and specialists working on other Soviet-Ethiopian joint projects.

True to their international principles, the Soviet people came to the assistance of Ethiopia's inhabitants suffering from the cruel drought. More than 8,000 Ethiopian specialists have been educated in the Soviet Union, and more than 3,000 are currently being trained.

But is this alone really the extent of our support for states of socialist orientation, such as Ethiopia? The Soviet Union's very existence and its might and influence in the international arena constitute a tremendous moral and political support for young independent states pursuing an independent policy.

Here in Ethiopia, where the pain and hopes of Africa have, as it were, been focused, you feel with special force the lasting significance of the chief event of the 20th century—the Great October Socialist Revolution, which abruptly changed not only the destinies of Russia's peoples but also the course of world history. The thunderous echo of "Aurora's" guns resounded all over the planet and even came here, onto African soil.

The Bolshevist Party headed by V.I. Lenin, the genius of the revolution, armed the working people with a plan for the building of socialism and led them into the struggle for a new life. And the Soviet people stood up to all the trials, held out, and triumphed. They triumphed on all fronts.

A civilization has been created in which there is no place for exploitation, unemployment, or social and national inequality. But something should also be emphasized. Some 70 years ago, right after the October Revolution, our country was the only socialist state, squeezed within a ring of enemies. Assistance could be expected from no quarter, and we had to rely on our own resources alone.

The Soviet people have experienced all forms of opposition from the old world—armed intervention and civil war, subversion and sabotage, economic blockade and ideological pressure. The conditions for building a new society are complex and bleak in your country too.

The Ethiopian Republic is still young and is only just finding its feet. Many great and complex problems lie ahead. There will also be difficulties, for this is life itself. But the Ethiopian people are not alone in this world. The socialist community countries and all the world's progressive forces are on their side. You have every reason to look to the future with optimism, with head held high.

The experience of the 70-year history of the Land of the Soviets convincingly confirms the conclusion that the party's leading role is vitally necessary for the successful building of the new society. The CPSU confirmed this with new force when, in April 1985, it adopted the resolute policy of revolutionary changes in Soviet society and of restructuring, which is the direct continuation of the October cause.

Our party proceeds from the premise that you cannot advance by trial and error and that the revolution must be developed constantly on the basis of carefully thought-out plans.

We well know from our own experience that it is not enough just to advance correct slogans and adopt decisions. It is necessary to implement them, skillfully determining priorities and strictly measuring one's potential, to proceed from the realities, and not try to skip stages.

The general battle of restructuring is developing on the bridgehead of the economy through involvement of the human factor, democratization, glasnost, and the instilling of order in all areas of state activity. We have

something on which to rely here. It is sufficient to emphasize that the USSR's national wealth this year exceeded the prerevolutionary level by 50 times.

The CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum confirmed most strongly that we seek ways to improve the problems that have arisen not outside but within the framework of the socialist system of economic management. Our intention is to use the advantages of the socialist system to maximally combine the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the planned economy, and all-state leadership with the interests of the individual and the collective.

I think it is clear to everyone that the tremendous creative tasks facing our peoples and the peoples of other countries can be fulfilled only in an atmosphere of peace and equal security for all and of detente, not of confrontation in international affairs. October began the process of the radical transformation of the entire system of international relations.

The Decree on Peace was the first word of the Republic of Soviets addressed to mankind. The great Lenin formulated the concept of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems. Today there is no alternative to peaceful coexistence.

Understanding of this and new political thinking are gradually making headway in the world, albeit it with difficulty. People with different skin colors and different religious, political, and ideological convictions are joining its supporters.

They are increasingly understanding that the Soviet program for the creation of a nuclear-free and nonviolent world is imbued with humane concern for the fate of all mankind. The needle of the political barometer has recently begun to move gradually toward clearer weather. A real opportunity has emerged to eliminate two classes of missiles—medium-range and operational-tactical—that is, to begin movement in nuclear disarmament.

But it is important that the opportunities which have emerged for reaching a Soviet-U.S. agreement on this question become reality. Those who oppose nuclear disarmament and continue to pin their hopes on the doctrine of nuclear deterrence are still very strong. Mankind is waiting to see whether the first important step is taken to eliminate nuclear missiles. It would be a historic mistake to disappoint its hopes.

The impression is being formed that those who go on about the "danger of war" stemming from the Soviet Union are not alarmed at Soviet missiles and nuclear warheads—we have repeatedly stated most definitely our readiness to destroy them together with all the other nuclear weapons that have been accumulated in the world—but fear socialism's economic potential and peaceful competition between the two systems under conditions of a nuclear-free and nonviolent world.

On the African continent you understand very acutely that the international community has no right to wait and is obliged to turn disarmament into a factor of development. It is not "mutually assured destruction" but the elimination of drought, hunger, disease, and illiteracy that must be at the center of people's attention and of their practical actions in the name of the present and future generations.

"It is time everyone realized," Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's message to the participants in the International Conference on the Connection Between Disarmament and Development emphasizes, "that, by willy-nilly leaving the peoples of certain regions and even entire continents in the position of exploited and deprived people, mankind risks creating a no less destructive explosion than a thermonuclear clash."

The Soviet Union did not go empty-handed to the Conference on the Connection Between Disarmament and Development. We propose setting up within the UN framework an international "Disarmament for Development" fund, open to all states, to transfer to needy countries the funds released in the course of disarmament. We for our part are ready to participate in such a fund and to take practical actions.

Motivated by the desire to help create a stable, democratic trade system which will ensure the economic security of all states and responding to the nonaligned states' appeal, the Soviet Government has adopted a decision on the USSR's participation in a general fund for raw material commodities. Our representative recently signed such an agreement at the United Nations.

The Soviet Union, as has already been stated repeatedly at the most authoritative level, does not pursue in Africa, nor, incidentally, on other continents, any interests at variance with their peoples' aspirations. We oppose turning Africa into an arena of confrontation of any kind, still less military confrontation, and we firmly uphold in this part of the world the principle of a political settlement for regional conflicts.

We approach from these positions the need for the speediest political settlement of the Chadian-Libyan armed clash, which, it is our profound conviction, meets neither the interests of the peoples of Chad and Libya nor the interests of other African peoples. A political settlement of the acute conflict situation which has taken shape in the south of the African continent brooks no delay.

The causes of the crisis in Southern Africa lie not in the "thirst for violence" on the part of the national liberation, patriotic forces of South Africa and Namibia, which are democratic by nature, but in the bloody terror and the aggressive policy of those who champion the monstrous apartheid system. The Soviet Union advocates that reason, not weapons, speak in resolving the problems of Southern Africa. Understanding of the need for changes is also maturing among the RSA's white population.

But let no one have any doubts that, until apartheid has been eliminated and as long as the illegal occupation of Namibia continues, we will firmly support the struggle for liberation which the patriots of those countries are waging under the leadership of the African National Congress of South Africa and the South-West African People's Organization!

The Soviet people and our country are solid with that struggle!

It is up to the peoples of the countries involved to decide what democratic orders will be established after apartheid in the RSA is eliminated and Namibia acquires independence, and it is for them to think about the path of their development.

Recently, thanks above all to the efforts of the countries of Indochina, a trend toward a drop in tension in that region has clearly begun to show. The USSR welcomes the PRK Government's recent statement proclaiming a policy of national reconciliation and believes that its implementation opens up the way to a political settlement of the Cambodian problem.

Here in Addis Ababa, capital of one of the nonaligned states, I would like to point to the great efforts being made to resolve burning problems of the present day by such an authoritative progressive force as the nonaligned movement.

As for the Soviet Union, it is fully resolved to continue cooperating actively with this movement in the international arena in the struggle to remove the threat of nuclear war, to establish a new world economic order, and to settle regional conflicts.

The relations of friendship and fruitful cooperation between the Soviet Union and Ethiopia are strengthening and developing, gaining strength with every passing year. They have a firm foundation—the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, the revolutionary solidarity of the CPSU and the WPE, and the equality and mutual respect of our two peoples. With the creation of the People's Democratic Republic, Soviet-Ethiopian relations will assume a still more multifaceted nature. This prospect pleases us.

The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers have sent the WPE Central Committee and the Republic's State Council and Council of Ministers a message sending the friendly Ethiopian people fraternal greetings and cordial congratulations in connection with the historic event in the life of your state—the formation of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia [PDRE].

It gives me no less pleasure to be able today to convey most warm and cordial congratulations to Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam on his election to the highest state post in the PDRE—president of the Republic. People in our country profoundly respect Comrade Mengistu and know him well as an ardent revolutionary, a staunch fighter for his people's happiness, and an outstanding politician of modern Africa.

In conclusion I would like on behalf of the Soviet party and state delegation to express most sincere wishes for happiness and well-being to the Ethiopian people, for peace and prosperity to your fine country, and for successes in their responsible activity for the good of the PDRE to the deputies of the National Assembly and the Ethiopian leadership.

The head of the Soviet delegation proposed toasts to the PDRE, Soviet-Ethiopian friendship, and peace throughout the world.

L.N. Zaykov's speech was accompanied by applause.

The head of the Soviet delegation handed over the congratulatory message of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers to the WPE Central Committee and the PDRE State Council and Council of Ministers and the congratulations of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to Mengistu Haile Mariam on his election as president of the PDRE.

The Soviet delegation presented the National Assembly with a memorable gift: an artistic vase depicting a place that is sacred to every Soviet person—Red Square.

Congratulations Message to Ethiopia
PM161535 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Sep 87 Second Edition p 1

[USSR leadership bodies' message congratulating Ethiopian leadership bodies on formation of People's Democratic Republic]

[Text] To the Workers Party of Ethiopia [WPE] Central Committee

To the State Council of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia [PDRE]

To the PDRE Council of Ministers

The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Soviet Government send the WPE Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, and the entire friendly Ethiopian people fraternal greetings and cordial congratulations in connection with a historic event in the life of your state—the formation of the PDRE.

Also accept our congratulations on the anniversary of the Ethiopian revolution.

The creation of a republic on the ancient land of Ethiopia has been the natural result of the processes of renewal and democratization begun by the antifeudal, national democratic revolution 13 years ago. The Ethiopian people have traveled a difficult path of struggle against

internal and external reaction toward this lofty goal. The resolute support which they give the WPE serves as convincing testimony to the correctness of the WPE's political course. With the formation of a republic new opportunities are being opened up for the working people's broad participation in management of the state and for their revolutionary creativity.

Ethiopia's ever increasing constructive role in resolving burning problems of the present day and its active struggle for peace, against the nuclear danger, for the complete eradication of colonialism and racism, and for the unity of Africa have won your country deserved international prestige and respect.

People in the Soviet Union sincerely rejoice at the courageous and industrious Ethiopian people's achievements in building a new life. We value highly the time-tested relations of friendship between our countries and peoples and note with satisfaction the steady development of fruitful Soviet-Ethiopian cooperation in various spheres.

We express confidence that the fraternal solidarity between the USSR and the PDRE and between the CPSU and the WPE will continue to strengthen for the good of the Soviet and Ethiopian peoples, in the name of world peace and progress, in the interests of all anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces.

We wish the WPE, the deputies of the PDRE National Assembly, and the entire Ethiopian people further successes in realizing the ideals of the Ethiopian revolution and peace and prosperity.

The CPSU Central Committee

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

The USSR Council of Ministers.

West Europe

Spanish Parliamentary Delegation Visits

Meets With Vorontsov

LD160214 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1840 GMT 15 Sep

[Text] Moscow, 15 Sep (TASS) — The Spanish parliamentary delegation, present in the USSR at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, headed by F. Pons, president of the Congress of Deputies, today met with Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs.

There was a thorough exchange of opinions on key international problems, as well as on questions of bilateral Soviet-Spanish relations. At the request of the Spanish parliamentarians, Yuliy Vorontsov explained Soviet assessments of the situation in the world, of prospects for concluding a treaty on medium-range missiles and operational-tactical missiles, and of the progress on the talks on strategic offensive weapons and space.

The Spanish parliamentarians stated that Spain consistently favors an improvement in the international climate and broadening dialogue between East and West. A practical contribution by Spain to the cause of strengthening international security will be its forthcoming entry into the nuclear weapons non-proliferation treaty.

Those taking part in the conversation stressed the importance of rapidly reaching an agreement between the USSR and the United States and of the Vienna meeting of representatives of the states participating in the CSCE ending in substantial results.

Received by Yakovlev

LD161745 Moscow TASS in English 1630 GMT 16 Sep 87

[Text] Moscow September 16 TASS—Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, today received a delegation of the Cortes Generales of Spain led by Felix Pons, president of the Congress of Deputies of the Cortes Generales. The delegation is in the USSR on an official visit.

During the reception at the CPSU Central Committee the sides examined the matters of Soviet-Spanish relations and also urgent issues of building up confidence and enhancing security on the European continent and in East-West relations as a whole.

For its part, the Soviet side noted, specifically, that in the face of nuclear realities the reflex of self-preservation seems to start working in mankind. The realization of the need for urgent actions to save civilization starts making its way though the logjams of mistrust, the stereotypes that have already become customary, all kind of historical "offences" and mutual claims.

This creates even now a definite basis for moving towards a nuclear-free and non-violent world. Real opportunities emerged for taking the first major steps towards destroying the nuclear arsenal, towards disarmament.

Mutual trust is an integral part and an important factor of the movement in this direction. But it will not come by itself, and it cannot appear without the process of strengthening security and cooperation as a whole. It is to be created during this process as one of the most meaningful of its results, by joint effort and in actions.

The Spanish parliamentarians noted the importance of the movement towards a safer world that would be rid of the nuclear threat.

The delegation of the Cortes Generales was informed of progress in the restructuring effort in the Soviet Union in the context of promoting peace and international security. The Spanish side expressed the wish of a success to the transformations launched in the USSR, whose implementation would become an additional factor making for the amelioration of the situation in the world.

Talks Held With Spanish Officials

PM161303 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Sep 87 Morning Edition p 4

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Official Reports"]

[Text] Soviet-Spanish consultations on the situation in the Near East and southern Africa took place 11-12 September at the USSR Foreign Ministry.

The Spanish side was represented by J. Descallar, general director of the Spanish Foreign Ministry Africa and Near East Administration, while the Soviet side was represented by V.P. Polyakov and V.M. Vasev, members of the USSR Foreign Ministry collegium.

J. Descallar was received by L.F. Ilichev, USSR deputy foreign minister.

Belgian Parties Protest Gulf Decision

LD162308 Moscow TASS in English 1046 GMT 16 Sep 87

[Text] Brussels September 16 TASS—"The Belgian Government's decision to send a group of mine sweepers to the Persian Gulf area runs counter to the United Nations efforts to bring about an end to the Iran-Iraq war", says a statement issued by Louis van Geyt, president of the Communist Party of Belgium. The statement has been circulated here.

"Belgium's being drawn into such questionable ventures," he emphasized, "not only threatens seriously to spoil Western Europe's relations with the developing countries but also undermines the hopes of the peace-loving public for relaxation of tension, disarmament, and the establishment of East-West cooperation."

The Socialist Party—Flemish Wing has condemned the government's decision to send naval ships to the Persian Gulf area. A communique published here points out that Belgian ships' participation in mine clearing operations threatens to draw the country into the existing confrontation between the United States and Iran.

Jaak Gabriels, chairman of the Flemish nationalist party Volksunie, stated that "the country which is unable to settle its own linguistic conflict has no right to act as arbiter in the war-torn region which is situated far away from Brussels."

A communique issued by the environmentalist movement Ecolo expresses profound bewilderment in connection with the fact that the "government has decided to tackle such a serious issue alone, without submitting it to Parliament for discussion."

Chirac Calls For End to Chad-Libya 'War'

LD090827 Moscow TASS in English 0653 GMT 9 Sep 87

[Text] Paris September 9 TASS — French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac has called for an end to the war between Chad and Libya.

Speaking on a TF-1 television news programme Tuesday, he said Chad's territorial integrity was now "guaranteed" and that matters of conflict between the two countries with regard to the Aozou Strip should be settled at the negotiating table.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Article on 'Secure World'

PM171039 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Sep 87 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Article by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, headlined: "The Reality and Guarantees of a Secure World"; passages in boldface as published]

The 42d session of the UN General Assembly opened a few days ago. It is this fact that suggested the idea of this article. Objective processes are making our complex and diverse world increasingly interelated and interdependent. It increasingly needs a mechanism which is capable of discussing its common problems in a responsible fashion and at a representative level and being a place for the mutual search for a balance of differing, contradictory, yet real, interests of the contemporary community of states and nations. The United Nations organization is called upon to be such a mechanism by its underlying idea and its origin. We are confident that it is capable of fulfilling that role. This is why in the first autumn days, when the period of holidays is over and the international political life is rapidly gathering momentum, when an opportunity for important decisions in the disarmament field can be discerned, we, in the Soviet leadership, deemed it useful to share our ideas on the basic issues of world politics at the end of the 20th century. It seems all the more appropriate since the current session of the UN General Assembly is devoted to major aspects of such politics.

It is natural that what we would like to do first of all in this connection is to try and see for ourselves what the idea of the establishment of a **comprehensive system of international security**—the idea advanced at the 27th CPSU Congress—looks like now that 1.5 years have passed since the congress. This idea has won backing from many states. Our friends—the socialist countries and members of the Nonaliged Movement—are our active co-authors.

The article offered to you deals primarily with our approach to the formation of such a system. At the same time it is an invitation for the United Nations member-countries and the world public to exchange views. I.

The last quarter of the 20th century has been marked by changes in the material aspect of being—changes revolutionary in their content and significance. For the first time in its history mankind became capable of resolving many problems that were hindering its progress over centuries. From the standpoint of the existing and newly-created resources and technologies there are no impediments to feeding the population of many billion, from giving it education, providing it with housing and keeping it healthy. Given obvious differences and potentialities of some or other peoples and countries, there has taken shape a prospect for ensuring befitting conditions of life for the inhabitants of the earth.

At the same time dangers have emerged which put into question the very immortality of the human race. This is why new rules of coexistence on our unique planet are badly needed and they should conform to the new requirements and the changed conditions.

Alas, many influential forces continue adhering to outdated conceptions concerning ways for ensuring national security. As a result the world is in an absurd situation whereby persistent efforts are being made to convince it that the road to an abyss is the most correct one.

It would be difficult to appraise in any other way the point of view that nuclear weapons allegedly make it possible to avert a world war. It is not simple to refute it precisely because it is totally unfounded. For one has to dispute something which is being passed off as an axiom—since no world war has broken out after the emergence of nuclear weapons, hence, it is these weapons which have averted it. It seems that it is more correct to say that a world war has been averted despite the existence of nuclear weapons.

Some time back the sides had several scores of atomic bombs apiece, then each came to possess a hundred of nuclear missiles, and finally, the arsenals grew to include several thousands of nuclear warheads. Not so long ago Soviet and American scientists specially studied the issue of the relationship between the strategic stability and the size of the nuclear arsenals. They arrived at the unanimous conclusion that 95 percent of all nuclear arms of the United States and the USSR can be eliminated without stability being disrupted. This is a killing argument against the "nuclear deterrence" strategy that gives birth to a mad logic. We believe that the 5 percent should not be retained either. Then the stability will be qualitatively different.

Not laying claims to instructing anyone and having come to realize that mere statements about the dangerous situation in the world are unproductive, we began seeking an answer to the question if it was possible to have a model for ensuring national security which would not be fraught with the threat of a world-wide catastrophe.

Such an approach was in the mainstream of the conceptions that had taken shape during the process of evolving the new political thinking permeated with a realistic view of what is surrounding us and what is happening round, of ourselves—the view characterized by an unbiassed attitude to others and the awareness of our own responsibility and security.

The new thinking is the bridging of the gap between the word and the deed, and we embarked on practical deeds. Being confident that nuclear weapons are the greatest evil and the most horrible threat we announced a unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests which we observed, let me put it straight, longer than we could have done ... Then came the 15 January 1986 statement putting forth a concrete program for a stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear weapons. At the meeting with President Reagan

in Reykjavik we came close to the realization of the desirability and possibility of complete nuclear disarmament. Then we made steps which made it easier to approach an agreement on the elimination of two classes of nuclear arms—medium- and shorter-range missiles.

We believe that it is possible and realistic. In this connection I would like to note that the Government of the FRG assumed the stand which is conducive to it to a certain extent. The Soviet Union is proceeding from the premise that a relevant treaty could be worked out before the end of the current year. Much has been said about its potential advantages. I will not repeat them. I would only like to note that it would deal a tangible blow at concepts of limited use of nuclear weapons and the so-called "controllable escalation" of a nuclear conflict. There are no illusory intermediate options. The situation is becoming more stable.

This treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles would be a fine prelude to a breakthrough at the talks on large-scale—50 percent—reductions in **strategic offensive arms in conditions of the strict observance of the ABM Treaty**. I believe that, given the mutual striving, an accord on that matter could become a reality as early as in the first half of the next year.

While thinking of advancing toward a nuclear weapon-free world it is essential to see to it even now that security be ensured in the process of disarmament, at each of its stages, and to think not only about that, but also to agree on mechanisms for maintaining peace at drastically reduced levels of **non-nuclear armaments**.

All these questions were included into proposals set forth jointly by the USSR and other socialist countries at the United Nations—the proposals for the establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security.

What should it be like, as we see it?

The security plan proposed by us provides, above all, for continuity and concord with the existing institutions for the maintenance of peace. The system could function on the basis of the UN Charter and within the framework of the United Nations. In our view, its ability to function will be ensured by the strict observance of the charter's demands, additional unilateral obligations of states as well as confidence measures and international cooperation in all spheres—politico-military, economic, ecological, humanitarian and others.

I do not venture to foretell how the system of all-embracing security would appear in its final form. It is only clear that it could become a reality only if all means of mass annihilation were destroyed. We propose that all this be pondered by an independent commission of experts and specialists which would submit its conclusions to the United Nations Organization.

Personally, I have no doubt about the capability of sovereign states to assume obligations in the field of international security right now. Many states are already doing this. As is known, the Soviet Union and the PRC have stated that they will not be the first to use nuclear arms. The Soviet-American agreements on nuclear armaments are another example. They contain a conscious choice of restraint and self-limitation in the most sensitive sphere of relations between the USSR and the United States. Or take the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. What is it? It is a unique example of a high sense of responsibility of states.

In the present-day reality there already exists "bricks" from which one can start building the future system of security.

The sphere of the reasonable, responsible and rational organisation of international affairs is expanding before our very eyes, though admittedly timidly. Previously unknown standards of openness, glasnost, of the scope and depth of mutual monitoring and verification of compliance with adopted obligations are being established. A U.S. inspection team visits an area where exercises of Soviet troops are held, a group of U.S. Congressmen already inspects the Krasnoyarsk radar station, U.S. scientists install and adjust their instruments in the area of the Soviet nuclear testing range. Soviet and American observers are present at each other's military exercises. Annual plans of military activity are published in accordance with accords within the framework of the Helsinki process.

I do not know of weightier and more impressive argument in support of the fact that the situation is changing than the stated readiness of a nuclear power voluntarily to renounce nuclear weapons. References to a striving to replace them with conventional armaments in which there supposedly exists a imbalance between NATO and the Warsaw Pact in the latter's favor are unjustified. If an imbalance, disproportions exist, let us remove them. We do not tire saying this all the time and we have proposed concrete ways of solving this problem.

In all these issues the Soviet Union is a pioneer and shows that its words are matched by its deeds.

The question of the comparability of defence spending? Here we will have to put in more work. I think that given proper effort already within the next 2 or 3 years we will be able to compare the figures that are of interest to us and our partners and which would symmetrically reflect the expenditures of the sides.

The Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms, the convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons which is close to being concluded will intensify, I am sure, the advance to detente and disarmament.

An accord on "defense strategy" and "military sufficiency" could impart a powerful impulse in this direction. These notions presuppose such a structure of the armed forces of a state that they would be sufficient to repulse a possible aggression but would not be sufficient for the conduct of offensive actions. The first step to this could

be a controlled withdrawal of nuclear and other offensive weapons from the borders with a subsequent creation along borders of strips of reduced [razrezhennykh] armaments and demilitarized zones between potential, let us put it this way, adversaries; while in principle we should work for the dissolution of military blocs and the liquidation of bases on foreign territories and the return home of all troops stationed abroad.

The question of a possible mechanism to prevent the outbreak of a nuclear conflict is more complex. Here I approach the most sensitive point of the idea of all-embracing security: much will have to be additionally thought out, rethinked [as published] and worked out. In any case, the international community should work out agreed-upon measures for the event of a violation of the all-embracing agreement on the non-use and elimination of nuclear arms or an attempt to violate this agreement. As to potential nuclear piracy, it appears possible nad necessary to consider in advance and prepare collective measures to prevent it.

If the system is sufficiently effective then the more so it will provide effective guarantees of averting and curbing a non-nuclear aggression.

The system proposed by us precisely presupposes a definiteness of measures which would enable the United Nations Organization, the main universal security body, to ensure its maintenance at a level of reliability. II.

The division of the world's countries into those possessing nuclear weapons and those not possessing them has split also the very concept of security. But for human life security is indivisible. In this sense it is not only a political, military, juridical but also a moral category. Contentions that there has been no war for already half a century do not withstand any test on the touchstone of ethics. How come there is no war? There are dozens of regional wars flaring in the world.

It is immoral to treat this as something second rate. The matter, however, is not only in the impermissible nuclear haughtiness. The elimination of nuclear weapons would also be a major step toward a genuine democratization of relations between states, their equality and equal responsibility.

Unconditional observance of the UN Charter and the right of peoples sovereignly to choose the roads and forms of their development, revolutionary or evolutionary, is an imperative condition of universal security. This applies also to the right to social status quo. This, too, is exclusively an internal matter. Any attempts, direct or indirect, to influence the development of "not one of our own" countries, to interfere in this development should be ruled out. Just as impermissible are attempts to destabilize existing governments from outside.

At the same time the world community cannot stay away from inter-state conflicts. Here it could be possible to begin by fulfilling the proposal made by the UN secretary general to set up under the UN Organization a multilateral center for lessening the danger of war. Evidently, it would be feasible to consider the expediency of setting up a direct communication line between the UN headquarters and the capitals of the countries that are permanent members of the Security Council and the location of the chairman of the Nonaligned Movement.

It appears to us that with the aim of strengthening trust and mutual understanding it could be possible to set up under the aegis of the UN Organization a mechanism for extensive international verification of compliance with agreements to lessen international tension, limit armaments and for monitoring the military situation in conflict areas. The mechanism would function using various forms and methods of monitoring to collect information and promptly submit it to the United Nations. This would make it possible to have an objective picture of the events taking place, to timely detect preparations for hostilities, impede a sneak attack, take measures to avert an armed conflict, prevent it from expanding and becoming worse.

We are arriving at the conclusion that wider use should be made of the institute of UN military observers and UN peace-keeping forces in disengaging the troops of warring sides, observing ceasefire and armistice agreements.

Of course at all stages of a conflict extensive use should be made of all means of a peaceful settlement of disputes and differences between states and one should offer one's good offices, one's mediation with the aim of achieving an armistice. The ideas and initiatives concerning nongovernmental commissions and groups which would analyze the causes, circumstances and methods of resolving various concrete conflict situations appear to be fruitful.

The Security Council permanent members could become guarantors of regional security. They could, on their part, assume the obligation not to sue force or the threat of force, to renounce demonstrative military presence. This is so because such a practice is one of the factors of fanning up regional conflicts.

A drastic intensification and expansion of the cooperation of states in uprooting international terrorism is extremely important. It would be expedient to concentrate this cooperation within the framework of the United Nations Organization. In our opinion, it would be useful to create under its aegis a tribunal and investigate acts of international terrorism.

More coordination in the struggle against apartheid as a destabilizing factor of international magnitude would also be justified.

As we see it, all the above-stated measures could be organically built into an all-embracing system of peace and security. III. [Roman three]

The events and tendencies of the past decades have expanded this concept, imparting new features and specificities to it. One of them is the problem of economic

security. A world in which a whole continent can find itself on the brink of death from starvation and in which huge masses of people are suffering from almost permanent malnutrition is not a safe world. Neither is a world safe in which a multitude of countries and peoples are stifling in a noose of debt.

The economic interests of individual countries or their groups are indeed so different and contradictory that consensus with regard to the concept of the new world economic order seems to be hard to achieve. We do hope, however, that the instinct of self-preservation should snap into action here as well. It is sure to manifest itself if it becomes possible to look into the chain of priorities and see that there are circumstances, menacing in their inevitability, and that it is high time that the inert political mentality inherited from the past views of the outside world be abandoned. This world has ceased to be a sphere which the big and strong divided into domains and zones of "vital interests."

The imperatives of the times compel us to elevate many common sense notions to the level of policy. It is not philanthropy which prompted our proposal to agree on the reduction of interest payments under bank credits and the elaboration of extra benefits for the least developed nations. This holds benefit for all, namely a secure future. If the debt burden of the developing world is alleviated, the chances for such a future will grow. It is also possible to limit debt payments by each developing country to the share of its annual export earnings without detriment to development, accept export commodities in payment for the debt, remove protectionist barriers on the borders of creditor-nations and stop adding extra interest when deferring payments under debts.

There may be different attitudes to these proposals. There is no doubt, however, that the majority of international community members realize the need for immediate actions to alleviate the developing world's debt burden. If that is so, it is possible to start working out the programme through concerted effort.

These words "through concerted effort" are very important for today's world. The relationship between disarmament and development, confirmed at the recent international conference in New York, can be implemented if none of the strong and rich keep themselves aloof. I already expressed the view that Security Council member states, represented by their top officials, could jointly discuss this problem and work out a coordinated approach. I confirm this proposal.

Ecological security. It is dangerous in the direct meaning of the word when currents of poison flow along river channels, when poisonous rains pour down from the sky, when the atmosphere polluted with industrial and transport waste chokes cities and whole regions, when the development of atomic engineering is justified by unacceptable risks.

Many have suddenly begun to perceive all that not as something abstract, but as quite a real part of their own experience. The confidence that "this won't affect us," characteristic of the past outlook, has disappeared. They say that one thorn of experience is worth more than a whole wood of instructions. For us, Chernobyl became such a thorn...

The relationship between man and the environment has become menacing. Problems of ecological security affect all—the rich and the poor. What is required is the global strategy of environmental protection and the rational use of resources. We suggest starting its elaboration within the framework of the UN special program.

States already exchange appropriate information and notify international organizations of developments. We believe that this order should be legitimatized by introducing the principle of governments' annual report about their conservationist activity and about ecological incidents, both those that occurred and those that were prevented on the territory of their countries.

Realizing the need for opening a common front of economic and ecological security and starting its formation mean defusing a delayed-action bomb planted deep inside mankind's existence by history, by people themselves. IV.

Human rights. One can name all top statesmen of our times who threatened to use nuclear weapons. Some may object: It is one thing to threaten and another to use. Indeed, they haven't used them. But campaigning for human rights is in no way compatible with the threat to use weapons of mass destruction. We hold it is unacceptable to talk about human rights and liberties while intending to hang in outer space overhead the "chandeliers" of exotic weapons. The only down-to-earth element in that "exoticism" is the potentiality of mankind's annihilation. The rest is in dazzling wrapping.

I agree: The world cannot be considered secure if human rights are violated in it. I will only add: If a large part of this world has no elementary conditions for a life worthy of man, if millions of people have the full "right" to go hungry, to have no roof over their head and to be jobless and sick indefinitely when treatment is something they cannot afford, if, finally, the basic human right, the right to life, is disregarded.

First of all, it is necessary that national legislation and administrative rules in the humanitarian sphere everywhere be brought in accordance with international obligations and standards.

Simultaneously it would be possible to turn to coordinating a broad selection of practical steps, for instance, to working out a world information program under UN auspices to familiarize peoples with one another's life, the life as it is, not as someone would like to present it. That is precisely why such a project should envisage ridding the flow of information of the "enemy image" stereotypes, of bias, prejudices and absurd concoctions, of the distortion and unscrupulous violation of the truth.

There is much promise in the task of coordinating unified international legal criteria for resolving in the

humanitarian spirit issues of family reunification, marriages, contacts between people and organizations, visa regulations and so on. What has been achieved on this account within the framework of the all-European process should be accepted as a starting point.

We favor the establishment of a special fund of humanitarian cooperation of the United Nations formed from voluntary state and private contributions on the basis of the reduction of military spending.

It is advisable that all states join the UNESCO conventions in the sphere of culture, including the conventions on protecting the world cultural heritage, on the means of prohibiting and preventing the illicit import, export and transfer of ownership of cultural property.

The alarming signals of the recent times have pushed to the top of the agenda the idea of creating a world-wide network of medical cooperation in treating most dangerous diseases, including AIDS, and combating drug addiction and alcoholism. The existing WHO structures make it possible to establish such a network at relatively short notice. The leaders of the world movement of physicians have big ideas on this account.

Dialogue on humanitarian problems could be conducted on a bilateral basis, within the forms of negotiation that have already been established. Besides, we propose holding it also within the framework of an international conference in Moscow: We made the proposal at the Vienna meeting in November last year.

Pooling efforts in the sphere of culture, medicine and humanitarian rights is yet another integral part of the system of comprehensive security. V.

The suggested system of comprehensive security will be effective to the extent in which the United Nations, its Security Council, and other international institutes and mechanisms will effectivley function. It will be required to enhance resolutely the authority and role of the Uited Nations and the IAEA. The need for establishing a world space organization is clearly felt. It could work in the future in close contact with the United Nations as an autonomous part of its system. UN specialized agencies should also become regulators of international processes. The Geneva Conference on Disarmament should become a forum that would internationalize the efforts on transition to a nuclear-free, nonviolent world.

One should not forget the capacities of the international court either. The general assembly and the Security Council could approach it more often for consultative conclusions on international law disputes. Its mandatory jurisdiction should be recognized by all on mutually agreed upon conditions. The permanent members of the Security Council, taking into account special responsibility, are to make the first step in that direction.

We are convinced that a comprehensive system of security is at the same time a system of universal law and order ensuring the primacy of international law in politics.

The UN Charter gives extensive powers to the Security Council. Joint efforts are required to ensure that it could use them effectively. For this purpose, there would be sense in holding meetings of the Security Council at foreign ministers' level when opening a regular session of the General Assembly to review the international situation and jointly look for effective ways for its improvement.

It would be useful to hold meetings of the Security Council not only at UN headquarters in New York, but also in regions of friction and tension and alternate them among the capitals of the permanent member states.

Special missions of the Council to regions of actual and potential conflicts would also help consolidate its authority and enhance the effectiveness of decisions adopted.

We are convinced that cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations could be considerably expanded. Its aim is the search for a political settlement of crisis situations.

In our view, it is important to hold special sessions of the General Assembly on the more urgent political problems and individual disarmament issues more often if the efficiency of latter's work is to be improved.

We emphatically stress the need for making the status of important political documents passed at the United Nations by consensus more binding morally and politically. Let me recall that they include, among others, the final document of the first special session of the UN General Assembly devoted to disarmament, the charter of economic rights and obligations of states, and others.

In our opinion, we should have set up long ago a world consultative council under UN auspices uniting the world's intellectual elite. Prominent scientists, political and public figures, representatives of international public organizations, cultural workers, people in literature and the arts, including laureates of the Nobel prize and other international prizes of world-wide significance, and eminent representatives of the churches could seriously enrich the spiritual and ethical potential of contemporary world politics.

To ensure that the United Nations and its specialized agencies operate at full capacity one should come to realize that it is impermissible to use financial levers for bringing pressure to bear on it. The Soviet Union will continue to cooperate actively in overcoming budget difficulties arising at the United Nations.

Finally, about the UN secretary general. The international community elects an authoritative figure enjoying everybody's trust to that high post. Since the secretary general is functioning as a representative of every member-country of the organization all states should give him the maximum of support and help him in fulfilling his responsible mission. The international community should encourage the UN secretary general in his missions of good offices, mediation, and reconciliation.

Why are we so persistent in raising the question of a comprehensive system of international peace and security?

Simply because it is impossible to put up with the situation in which the world has found itself on the threshold of the third millenium—in the face of a threat of annihilation, in a state of constant tension, in an atmosphere of suspicion and strife, spending huge funds and quantities of work and talent of millions of people only to increase mutual mistrust and fears.

One can speak as much as he pleases about the need for terminating the arms race, uprooting militarism, or about cooperation. Nothing will change unless we start acting.

The political and moral core of the problem is the trust of the states and peoples in one another, respect for international agreements and institutions. We are prepared to switch from confidence measures in individual spheres to a large-scale policy of trust which would gradually shape a system of comprehensive security. But such a policy should be based on the unity of political statements and real positions.

The idea of a comprehensive system of security is the first plan for a possible new organization of life in our common planetary home. In other words, it is a pass into the future where security of all is a token of the security for everyone. We hope that the current session of the UN General Assembly will jointly develop and concretize this idea.

Yeltsin Speaks at Moscow Gorkom Plenum

PM160736 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Aug 87 p 1, 2, 3

[Unattributed account of Moscow Gorkom Bureau report delivered by B.N. Yeltsin, first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, at the 8 August 1987 Moscow Gorkom plenum, under general heading "Translating the Energy of Restructuring into Practical Results"]

[Text] Comrades!

Today we have to jointly determine the specific steps for implementing under Moscow's conditions an unprecedentedly sharp and large-scale turnabout in the economy as planned by the Central Committee June Plenum.

Time and again we will turn to the plenum's fundamental decisions, checking the direction, pace, and quality of transformations against them and, what is most important, checking the degree of effectiveness of steps that have been taken and the volume of practical achievements.

The plenum emphasized with utmost urgency the colossal responsibility of the party, of all its links, and of every Communist for the consistent, persistent, and practical implementation of the planned strategy. The focal point of the entire activity of the city CPSU organization is the stipulation in Comrade M.S. Gorbachev's report to the effect that it is the party organizations and committees which must generate a political, statewide, and specific approach to work on the fundamental restructuring of economic management.

The unprecedented complexity of the work that lies ahead and the uncharted paths we will have to traverse demand collective consultation and a joint quest for the correct approaches and necessary resources to implement a radical economic reform in the city.

While rousing the city's Communists and working people for decisive transformations in the economy, we gorkom members must determine with utmost clarity and businesslike efficiency the practical measures for restructuring the management system, solving social questions, and ensuring the organizational and political backup for a breakthrough in the direction of a new qualitative state of Moscow's economy.

Today there is evidently no need to report on achievements, especially and unfortunately since, in terms of end results, not very much has been achieved. Furthermore, at the end of the year the gorkom Bureau will report to a plenum on the work done since the city conference. It is therefore proposed to concentrate attention on what is retarding restructuring, on what is to be done in the immediate future to meet the Central Committee plenum's demands and how this is to be done.

Muscovites are firmly committed to restructuring.

But I must say that a feeling of anxiety for the future of restructuring can now be sensed in letters from and conversations with working people. Some Muscovites are even becoming prey to disappointment. There is a real danger of a possible divergence between words and deeds: Much has been said, but the results are insignificant. Many good decisions are getting bogged down. We can perceive the re-emerging symptoms of a most dangerous illness which has ruined numerous wonderful initiatives—the lack of discipline among our party aktiv and leaders, when any decision could remain unfulfilled or be delayed, postponed, and drowned in endless examinations, coordinations, and clarifications. The least permissible thing of all is the unreliability and poor standards of discipline of many leaders, workers, and entire organizations.

It is obvious that, following the initial slight advances and scanty successes, we hurriedly forgot the accumulated negative layers of unfulfilled promises. People here and there again started looking at everything through the rose-tinted glasses of imagined prosperity resulting from overall averaged figures. The permanent dissatisfaction with what has been achieved is hurriedly declared to be bad form so as to ensure a quieter life. But today's complacency, even if only slight, and the missed opportunities can turn into irreparable losses not only in the economic but also in the political sense, people's trust can be lost.

In all our work on restructuring we must never forget that we are talking about the fate of socialism.

The CPSU Central Committee plenum, which defined the party's activity for decades to come, demands that party work is evaluated from these positions before taking the new step in the economy's fundamental transformation.

The analysis and evaluation of the past and the elaboration and adoption of programs along all avenues at previous gorkom plenums used to be followed by a sort of mood of respite, slackening, and summer vacations. This cannot be tolerated.

It is not the alleged enemies of restructuring but we who are all directly involved in it—the party aktiv, soviet and economic cadres, specialists, and rank and file workers—who are to blame for the slowing down of renewal, the halfhearted measures, and the lack of tangible actual results.

There is a shortage of energy, purposefulness, and self-criticism, and some people even lack skill and courage. The capital's working class is unconditionally in favor of changes and actively participates in them. But a large proportion of the working class is still not ready to exercise the full rights of stewards and bear its share of responsibility for the progress of restructuring.

The gorkom bureau believes that the poor standard of the social sphere's development remains, just as before, the worst choke point. The pace of renewal is least noticeable there. As far as Moscow is concerned, this is the key link in the chain which must be pulled tight if we are to significantly improve Muscovites' life. This is the fundamental basis which will also make it possible to solve the economic problems.

This concerns questions of housing, schooling, the standards of trade (which is improving only slowly and is the greatest source of irritation for Muscovites), consumer services, and public health services. We did not manage to achieve within a brief period of time that which could have been achieved most quickly. The development of individual labor activity and cooperatives, something that is so much needed by the city, is bogged down in bureaucracy.

There is no doubt that leaders of the Moscow Gorispolkom and its services are responsible for the failures in the social sphere. But are they the only ones responsible for the solution of what is essentially a political problem? All members of the gorkom and its Bureau are responsible.

The state of affairs in the economy demands the most exacting of assessments. Yes, fairly stable plan fulfillment and growth rates have been ensured in this sphere, and certain groundwork has been done for transition to the new economic mechanism.

But the shortcomings in the country's economy, as noted at the Central Committee plenum, can also be found in the city's economy.

The transition to intensive methods of economic management is being implemented only slowly, and many labor collectives are still untouched by it. Despite the monthly plan fulfillment by the city as a whole, the results of the first 7 months show that the lag allowed to build up during the first quarter by a number of enterprises and rayons has not been eliminated. Only six rayons have completely fulfilled their programs for contract sales.

The city has 160 industrial enterprises and organizations working under the new conditions, but 1 enterprise in 7 fails to fulfill the output sales plans taking contracts into account, 1 in 10 fails to fulfill the labor productivity growth plans, and 1 in 5 cannot cope with the profits targets. A number of plants which have switched to self-financing report lower dynamics of production, financial, and economic indicators than plants operating in the old fashion, and these indicators are worse than 1 year ago. The only thing left for some of them is to face the question of bankruptcy.

During the first 6 months, 24 enterprises (out of 59) operating under conditions of state acceptance incurred an overexpenditure of prime costs amounting to R16 million, in other words one-half of the city's total overexpenditure is attributable to these enterprises.

It is time to switch from just quantifying the costs of the transition period and embark on decisive and specific work to remedy the situation.

Ministry party committees are still displaying tolerance for administrative-bureaucratic inertia, and show no concern for joint work with Communists in plants and associations or with city organizations to get the new economic mechanism going.

Party committees in central planning and economic organs have also adopted a wait-and-see stance. It would not go amiss if they were to do some specific work with enterprises in Moscow.

For a long time now, 23 of the city's industrial enterprises have ranked among loss-makers, and there are dozens which either report low profitability (less than 10 percent) or fail to fulfill their profits plans. But the leadership of these enterprises and the ministries still take the easiest way out—blatant voluntarism in determining deductions normatives and "artificial respiration" taking the form of subsidies from centralized funds. Right at the very start of the economic reform we have adopted a new form of plan revision, and this is nothing but fraud against both labor collectives and the state.

Are we today ready for the painless transition to conditions of self-financing of a further 300 enterprises as of 1 January next year, and of the city's virtually entire industry as of 1989?

Bluntly speaking, we are not ready.

The cost-cutting mechanism is the core of the economic management system. We have essentially not yet embarked on its creation. Yet the fetters of nonproduction losses prevent us from boldly embarking on reform. Substandard output results in annual losses of R60 million, and improper technologies in losses that are six times greater. Stocks in excess of normatives total more than R1.5 billion. Add to this R45 million in fines, and a further sum of R60 million in respect of nonfulfillment of contractual deliveries. Overdue credits produce a loss of R30 million.

The question is: What sort of economy can bear such a great burden of waste? Furthermore, this is not just a blow to the economy. Such sloppiness makes some people lose their faith in the feasibility of economic accountability [khozraschet]. Against this background, it is difficult to get people used to counting every kopek. This is where the particular danger lies.

The transition to new wage rates and salary scales is progressing intolerably slowly. Only 16.5 percent of earnings norms in industry have been reviewed.

Generally speaking, we must tackle the economy properly and in depth. Moreover, the question must be posed more broadly—the transition of the city's entire economy to economic accountability. We are in a position to adopt such an approach.

Now a general conclusion:

Unless we mobilize the reserves, unless we learn to be and start acting as proper economic managers, treating the state's money as our own, the ideas which underlie the improvement of the economic management system will produce nothing.

The Central Committee plenum and a number of subsequent party documents urgently raised the question of the immeasurably greater role of ideological education work under the conditions of fundamental economic restructuring.

There is unevenness in the gorkom's ideological education work in terms of time, indicators, and zones. In parallel with certain positive development, there are instances of obvious neglect and lagging behind, and downright failure in many cases.

In mass political work, just like before, many people have not abandoned the scholastic lecturing detached from the topical problems of social life. The old-style posters and the irrelevancy of slogans in visual agitation cause nothing but irritation among people. All this makes it harder to overcome inertia in awareness and to cultivate among people an attitude of active participation in restructuring.

People who are poorly prepared for work under the new conditions are to be found among ideological cadres. Even some enterprise leaders are unfamiliar with basic economic concepts.

Much of what the economic reform brings to our life is substantially different from what is familiar and which has become a stereotype. This often generates fear: Are we not retreating or deviating from socialism? These feelings are rooted in the inadequacies of the economic education system, and what we have cannot even be described as a system.

Some ministries and departments and gorispolkom main administrations keep aloof from the organization of cadres' economic training. Only one in four enterprise leaders participates personally in economic studies. Here is a typical example: By a single stroke of the pen, Comrade P.S. Surov (Moscow City Main Administration for Housing and Civil Construction) cut down the training course by almost one-half. Why? Do you, Petr Sergeyevich, by any chance believe that construction industry workers need no economic knowledge? You are clearly mistaken. One in every 2 general contractual trusts within the main administration's system operates at low profitability, 2 trusts and 19 construction administrations operate at a loss, 1 in 10 construction associations fails to fulfill its profits plan, and at almost 1 in every 3 the wages growth rate is faster than output growth. This is the direct result of economic illiteracy.

Party committees in ministries and departments, including th[illegible] whose enterprises are operating under new economic management conditions, have progressed no further than idle talk in organizing universal economic education. For example, Party Committee Secretaries Comrade N.Ya. Taranov from the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems and Comrade A.F. Yemelyanov from the Ministry of the Automotive Industry have not made a single enquiry about the progress of cadres' economic training at Moscow's enterprises and whether officials from the ministries' apparatus take part in it.

The demolition of stereotypes, the new information situation, and the unprecedented moral, political and emotional pitch of life in the country and the capital lead not only to the consolidation of the true values of socialism in people's minds, but also—in some people—to deformation of the foundations of their world outlook and moral foundations. We are in no position to allow ourselves to overlook or disregard this in our work—the loss could be too great and even irreparable.

The froth of social demagoguery often forms on top of the wave of democratization. Various tiny groups and associations have formed which, beneath the banner of restructuring, juggle with party slogans, speculate upon real and imaginary difficulties and problems, and organize provocative demonstrations.

All this causes justified indignation among Muscovites. They declare in their letters that glasnost cannot be identified with total license, and demand that the actions of windbags and demagogues be exposed and terminated. We must not allow Moscow's streets and squares, which are part of the history of our multinational state,

to become gathering places for certain extremists and seats of fanning enmity among nations.

Gorkom Secretary Comrade Yu.S. Karabasov, the Propaganda and Agitation Department (Comrade Yu.A. Vinogradov), and the raykoms give insufficient attention to forecasting the development of social processes in the city, fail to make sufficiently consistent provisions for preventive influence on people's opinions, and are intolerably slow in formulating new approaches toward work with different social and age groups of the population.

Voices can already be heard asking whether we have gone rather too far in the process of democratization, whether the time has not come to halt. Simply amazing! How is it possible to halt that which still has not been properly launched? What makes this point in time so exceptional is the fact that we cannot retreat. It is only through utmost deepening and expansion of democracy that the economic reform can be finalized and the gains of socialism be fully implemented.

The expansion of democracy is firmly tied to glasnost. It is showing its worth. But, just as it is impossible to produce truth from two half-truths, it is impossible to halt at half-glasnost because you are scared by some unusual phenomena.

Muscovites are now criticizing all newspapers, journals, the radio, and television. There is so much material on this topic that one issue of a newspaper sometimes carries two critical articles at a time.

It is, of course, sad to read and hear all this, and we all must constantly accustom ourselves to the fact that this is a necessary and normal phenomenon in today's conditions.

There are many sore spots in the city, the abscesses must be lanced, and they will be easier to heal. The better we perceive, the faster we will act. All this helps to maintain an atmosphere of high exactingness. If someone feels slighted, this is a clear sign that he has a long way to go to restructuring.

Party organs and especially the rayon link—the link with primary organizations—have an exceptionally important and responsible role to play at the crucial stage of restructuring. Raykoms now operate in different fashions. There are numerous examples of active influence on the processes of renewal by the Dzerzhinskiy, Lyublinskiy, Kirovskiy, and Krasnogvardeyskiy CPSU Raykoms (First secretaries Comrades A.V. Nikonov, A.L. Ivanov, I.M. Golovkov, and V.A. Zheltov).

There have been noticeable positive changes in Kuybyshevskiy and Sevastopolskiy CPSU Raykoms (First Secretaries Comrades Ye.A. Panteleyev and A.M. Bryachikhin).

Good groundwork has been done in Sovetskiy Raykom (First Secretary Comrade V.V. Vinogradov). The main features here are dynamism, dissatisfaction with what has so far been achieved, and creative questing. The raykom apparatus operates under a new structure. Meetings with people and a constant mood for specific deeds have brought the raykom closer to labor collectives and have ensured understanding and support for its policy.

Comrades V.K. Belyaninov and N.M. Andreyanova, first secretaries of Volgogradskiy and Gagarinskiy Raykoms respectively, work skillfully and with a keen sense of personal responsibility.

There have been promising examples of far-reaching restructuring in the activity of numerous primary party organizations and labor collectives, including in some enterprises in the nonproduction sphere.

Nevertheless, comrades, if we were to assess the progress of restructuring in the activity of a number of primary party organizations, it must be said bluntly: On the whole, we have failed to achieve a new degree of quality in work. The renewal impulses go to seed at the rayon level of party leadership and get drowned in daily routine.

This applies fully to Zhdanovskiy, Krasnopresnenskiy, and Frunzenskiy Raykoms (First Secretaries Comrades R.V. Zhukova, I.I. Shuvalov, and V.I. Terentyev).

There have been no changes for the better in the Babushkinskiy Rayon party organization. The rayon developed a long time ago a state of stagnation in work with cadres, many of whom are afraid of innovations, sit on the fence, and have adopted a wait-and-see attitude. The consequence is that the rayon's economy is on the decline. The raykom issues many guidance directives, but there are no results. A serious conversation was held with Raykom First Secretary Comrade B.K. Kuznetsov. He gave assurances that the situation would be remedied. He was trusted. Nothing has changed over a period of 6 months. The same old inertia and lack of initiative. The period of grace which was granted, Boris Konstantinovich, has unfortunately run out.

The serious shortcomings in Kuntsevskiy Rayon's work are largely the result of inadequate work done by the rayispolkom leaders. This was also demonstrated during the recent meeting with the rayon's residents. Inability to work with people, disregard for their needs, inattention, and lack of self-critical evaluation of the state of affairs have had a negative effect on the results of work and on conditions in the rayon.

The gorkom Bureau reprimanded Rayispolkom Chairman Comrade Yu.D. Platonov. Yuriy Dmitriyevich, you have been given a last chance to prove by deeds whether you are capable of heading the rayon soviet in the future.

We are making poor use of the experience in restructuring accumulated by the party. Almost all raykom first secretaries have traveled to different parts of the country. They came across much that was of value. But only Gagarinskiy Rayon followed Penza's example and

started implementing a program of work at places of residence, and Oktyabrskiy Rayon applied Leningrad's experience and introduced optional state acceptance in all of the rayon's enterprises. That is all.

CPSU Raykom First Secretaries Comrades S.A. Abramov, Yu.N. Arkhangelskiy, V.A. Vasilyev, I.N. Konyukhova, and A.N. Nikolayev went on junkets to no purpose and wasted both time and money.

A group of raykom first secretaries headed by Moscow CPSU Gorkom Secretary Comrade A.A. Nizovtseva returned greatly impressed from Riga, where they studied the organization of the services sphere including public catering. We expected energetic actions and interesting solutions. The positive changes are minute: Just one dining room at the Moscow radio equipment plant was reconstructed. That was all.

Many raykoms proved unprepared for a serious and detailed discussion of their tasks at recently held plenums (following the Central Committee June plenum). The discussion in Brezhnevskiy, Pervomayskiy, Timiryazevskiy, and several other rayons was reduced to individual problems: The traditional monochrome photograph of the state of affairs, parasitical speeches [izhdivencheskiye vystupleniya], at times total confusion of raykom members, and no program of actions. The reason—simplistic perception of the new tasks and the complex processes of renewal which demand evaluations at considerably greater depth and revision of prevailing schemes and methods of leadership. Evidently, they are used to being supplied with fully "spelled out" directives. Some were even short on skills.

Now it is extremely dangerous to labor under the delusion that the transition from administrative to economic methods of management will be swift, painless, and automatic. No, and I repeat, no.

Evidence of this can be seen in the "stagnation zones" still remaining in the city. We have dealt with the zones beyond criticism, and believe that almost no such zones now exist. There are, however, quite a few spheres where nothing has changed in the last 18 months and so far we have not dealt with those.

This applies primarily to the activity of some institutes and design bureaus. The quantity of new developments has been steadily declining over the last 20 years. Only 9 percent of them are superior to similar developments abroad. Total sterility, copying, and imitation. Here we have indeed a state of anabiosis! There used to be 1,041 institutes and design bureaus. Great efforts were needed to close down seven of them. The others entrenched themselves. According to the latest count, we now have 1,087! Many of them remain inactive. This is happening against the background of major achievements by a number of institutes, an incipient breakthrough in several directions, and noticeable restructuring in some collectives.

It is only in the plans that reform in public education is progressing; only in words [not deeds]. Only 2 percent of teachers themselves believe that the situation is changing for the better.

Deep-rooted years-long stagnation can be seen in Moscow's vocational and technical education.

All this demands more specific and more energetic efforts for a real revival in these spheres.

Deeds have always been and always will be the main yardstick of practical actions. After all, we—and I mean all gorkom members and not just the Bureau members—have ourselves so far done little. More than enough documents have been elaborated. A necessary, but by no means the most difficult, part of the way has been traversed. Although even at this stage there have emerged some, so to say, "enthusiasts" eager to report on paper that restructuring has been accomplished.

The main work still lies ahead. The restructuring of economic management is the most serious trial of the ability of us all not only to issue slogans but also to organize work.

Let me emphasize: This is a trial for us all, insofar as we are talking about all members of the city party organization's elected organs. This applies to workers, directors, physicians, sales personnel, lecturers, creative workers, and party committee secretaries.

We all are collectively responsible for the state of affairs in the city.

Strict exactingness must be displayed toward everyone. Accompanied by utmost support for those who, regardless of all difficulties, are hacking their way through the barriers of tenacious bureaucracy, who are devoted to the idea of our plans for acceleration and renewal, without any mercy for those who drown the work in verbosity.

Another category of "organizers" is pulling backwards. They understand, they agree, they undertake something, the only thing that is missing are results. They lack the courage to admit their inability to accomplish any real work and vacate their managerial chairs of their own free will. We are doing nothing but waiting for such leaders to ruin the work altogether. There are numerous examples of this.

We have no right to allow ourselves the luxury of inaction. Even though until now it was unacceptable for leaders who were failures or who had exhausted their potential to resign, it is evident that some may have to do so, for the sake of the cause. This would be the honorable thing to do for their work comrades and for Muscovites. This should be regardless of the position occupied today—director or manager, department chief or party committee secretary.

I want to stress that this also applies to members of our collegial party organs, committees, and raykom and gorkom bureaus. If you have failed to organize the

attainment of the set tasks—then evaluate your own work and draw the conclusions. There is only one criterion today—only actual end results. This is what ought to be used to evaluate work; not events and targeted programs. Now they have been elaborated for the period through the year 2000, but there no tangible results yet. In order to remain, so to say, "afloat," to appear to be working for the "cause," and to sweet-talk people and feed them promises, some have already started elaborating programs through the year 2020. But you won't float very far on paper.

Yes. Today's gorkom plenum is unusual. The responsibility for the decisions to be made is very great. This is why the gorkom Bureau proposes that the report be interrupted so that plenum participants are given an opportunity to speak and make suggestion as to what should be done on the practical plane, proceeding from the Central Committee plenum resolutions, the set tasks, and today's complex situation. The gorkom bureau, working groups, and the drafting commission will sum up the suggestions and subsequently they will be outlined in the continuation of the report and discussed when the plenum resolutions are to be adopted. In our opinion, this procedural form will give everyone a better chance to participate in the elaboration of a properly collective decision and feel personally responsible for its implementation.

(The concluding part of the report was heard after plenum participants had spoken and following a gorkom bureau session to sum up the suggestions and remarks expressed or handed in.)

Comrades!

In the bureau members' opinion, the discussion at this plenum displayed the maturity, cohesion, and businesslike efficiency of our collective organs. As a rule, the speeches and suggestions by comrades were distinguished by their constructive nature and bluntness. A total of 205 suggestions were received. They made it possible to draw up a more precise and more viable program for the city party organization's immediate actions to fulfill the guidelines of the Central Committee June plenum. They, together with the bureau's suggestions, constitute the bulk of this section of the report.

Concern at the state of affairs in Moscow runs right through them all. The recurrent theme is the idea of responsibility for the common cause, for the renewal of all aspects of the city's life.

We duly accept the frank and businesslike criticism of errors and shortcomings in the activity of the gorkom Bureau, the gorkom apparatus, and the city organizations. All critical remarks will be taken into account.

And so, the general opinion is as follows:

—the main point now is to concentrate on practical preparatory work and put an end to the production of instructions and programs and all sorts of bureaucratic paperwork;

—there must be greater exactingness toward all cadres for precise and impeccable performance of tasks that have been set and promises that have been given, and leaders must be assessed in terms of results and dedication to the sectors with which they have been entrusted;

—without the slightest delay, a joint attack must be launched against those problems, primarily in the social sphere, which produce the painful effect of stagnation that causes Muscovites' indignation, and actual and tangible progress here must be ensured in the shortest possible time;

—we must resolutely free and cleanse ourselves of everything that is hopelessly obsolete even today, and must not drag along into the new conditions the economic, moral, and stylistic trash of prejudices, stock phrases, and stereotypes;

—it is necessary to painstakingly create and consolidate by all means the key elements of the new socioeconomic mechanism and the first shoots of advanced experience;

—we must take stock of our arsenal and determine which political methods, organizational means, and forms of party work must be used to ensure radical economic restructuring, and we must continuously unfold the process of democratization.

Every party committee in the city and every labor collective must single out the key tasks, the ones that brook no delay, from the multiplicity of tasks. They ought to be resolved stage by stage in the 1987-1988 period.

It is well known that programs have been approved on all of the city's most urgent problems. But the implementation of many of these programs is already lagging. We believe that gorkom departments, raykoms, the gorispolkom and rayispolkoms, and leaders of appropriate services must, within 1 month, analyze the progress of their fulfillment, identify the causes of lagging, and unconditionally fulfill everything that has been scheduled. Any wrecking of the programs will be perceived as a manifestation of leaders' inability to make proper provision for the sector entrusted to them.

The speeches by Comrades V.V. Vinogradov, V.I. Resin, and V.A. Korobchenko and many of the written remarks back the idea that the improvement of working and living conditions and the development of the social sphere is a determining condition for Moscow, which could help to sharply raise the performance of the human factor and produce specific results in the city's economy and in all other aspects of its life.

There is also a need and a realistic opportunity to bring nearer the time of the implementation of our programs in the social and cultural sphere.

The gorkom Bureau believes that ministries and the enterprises and organizations located in the city must play a more active part in the solution of social problems

on the basis of contracts with rayispolkoms. It is necessary to foresee what the ispolkom will undertake to provide services for the enterprise's working people, and what specific work will be done by the enterprise for the development of the rayon's infrastructure. This must be done immediately.

We deem it necessary to complete in 1989, in other words 1 year earlier than envisaged, the creation of modern units for everyday sanitary and medical services for working people in all of the city's enterprises in line with these enterprises' social [welfare] documentation. I am confident that Comrade V.P. Shcherbakov will be mindful of his personal responsibility for the accelerated development of everyday facilities in the production sphere.

The housing question remains as acute as ever. It was raised in most of the speeches and in numerous written suggestions. Specific proposals were made. What is their essence?

Primarily, the plan for the commissioning of housing must be overfulfilled by 200,000 square meters this year and next year. A specific contribution must be made already this year toward the solution of the communal apartments problem. A register of labor veterans living in communal apartments and officially domiciled in Moscow for more than 40 years and also of cadre workers and specialists who have been employed by one enterprise for more than 25 years is to be compiled irrespective of the housing area they occupy. The problem of communal apartments is to largely solved by 1995.

Vacant housing represents a major reserve which must by utilized. Today there are 3,721 apartments and 6,024 rooms vacant in the city. Every rayon must take urgent measures to deal with vacant housing and utilize it properly, including for the purpose of resettling young families from hostels. Maybe such accommodation should be expropriated from organizations which have taken an excessive time to arrange the occupancy of housing allocated to them. A deadline must be set for occupancy. Gorispolkom Deputy Chairman Comrade A.I. Kostenko has given his word that the floor area of vacant housing will be reduced to zero by the end of the year.

The first young people's housing complex is due to be commissioned this year. Ten more must be built next year. The city must commission a total of 50 young people's complexes during the 5-year plan period.

Ministries and departments must make a greater contribution in 1987-1988, and at least 200,000 square meters of housing area must be built in the city using the own-resources method. The time for total transition to new series of social, cultural, and consumer services projects must be reduced by 2 years. Construction industry workers must be oriented only toward overfulfillment of plans for the commissioning of trade, public health, consumer services, public education, and cultural projects. This is how all main administrations must draw up their plans.

Every rayon must have a precise plan for ensuring the comprehensive development of both new and existing microrayons.

In line with government resolutions, organizations are now allowed to sell materials for housing repairs to the population. Fuller use must be made of this.

The organization of trade, public catering, and consumer services in the city is a particularly sensitive sphere for Muscovites. Many of the speakers mentioned this today.

We propose a plenum decision making it incumbent upon all the city's Communists, party and soviet organs, trade union and Komsomol organizations, and labor collectives to determine and make their contribution toward the decisive improvement of the state of affairs in this sphere.

There are several major questions that have to be resolved here within a period of 1 and 1/2 to 2 years: To increase trading areas, to organize the storage and processing of fruit and vegetable produce, [to improve] cadres and service standards, to boost the output of consumer goods, and to make fuller use of cooperative trade and individual labor activity.

First, it is necessary to ensure unconditional overfulfillment of plans for the construction of trade projects, to commission 55,000 square meters of trading area this year, with a further 50,000 square meters and 60,000 public catering places to be commissioned in 1988. The gorkom Bureau deems it necessary, using Zelenograd's example as the basis, to instruct city enterprises to offer stores practical assistance as regards the repair, mechanization, technical equipping, and maintenance of premises and equipment. Computerization in trade must become widespread. These direct ties must be established during the third quarter, and, as Comrade Ye.A. Brakov suggested, on the basis of contracts being concluded.

It is a feasible task for enterprises and organizations to build at least two stores using rapid assembly structures and three "Minutka"-type coffee shops in every rayon within 2 years. This will provide the city with an additional 180 trade and public catering enterprises.

Over a 2-year period, enterprises employing more than 5,000 workers should open food stores; those employing more than 500 persons should set up departments of stores for prepared foods and comprehensive consumer service reception units. This would add a further 20,000 square meters of trading area, which would be equivalent to the additional commissioning of 20 supermarket stores.

The gorispolkom commissions for the resiting of first-floor offices must double their efforts and, whereas only 70 offices have been resited this year, 200 must be

resited in the next 18 months. Premises to be vacated following staff cutbacks by ministries and departments must not be overlooked. A firm policy must be pursued: A percentage of area equivalent to the percentage of staff cutbacks must be handed over to the Moscow City Soviet for the siting of trade, services sphere, and cultural projects. We are assured of backing by central organs.

The storage of fruit and vegetables poses another problem. It is unquestionably necessary to commission this very year 33 vegetable cold stores on the territory of Moscow Oblast (with a capacity of 100,000 tonnes), and an equal quantity next year. This will eliminate many problems.

It is a matter of honor for Moscow enterprises and rayon directors' councils to supply fruit and vegetable bases with 200 units of mechanization means this year, and at least another 450 units in 1988, thus completing the first stage of the program for their mechanization.

Trade and public catering are switching to the new system of economic management. The cadres question immediately takes on a new form. Raykoms and rayispolkoms must help to staff trade enterprises with the cadres they need and to considerably raise service standards. It is necessary to set for this year the task of switching one-half of trade enterprises to flexible time working without lunchtime closures. I believe that this will be immediately noticed by all Muscovites and visitors to the capital.

The most urgent question concerns the development of consumer goods production.

In order to improve the quality of goods produced by Group "A" enterprises, it is necessary to cancel the production of 600 items and to finalize the development and assimilate the manufacture of 300 items this very year. The party's formulation of the question is as follows: If the Moscow trade network does not purchase the consumer goods produced by an enterprise, they must be replaced within 1 year at most.

It is necessary to create the conditions necessary for cooperative and individual labor activity, including at enterprises.

There are 97 cooperatives operating in Moscow today, but there are also a further 451 applications filed with rayispolkoms. The Moscow Gorispolkom and the rayispolkoms must simplify the procedure for issuing permits for setting up cooperatives or engaging in individual labor activity. This concerns Comrades Yu.M. Luzhkov and V.A. Zharov.

The Moscow City Planning Commission (Comrade Ye.I. Bystrov) and the gorkom's sectorial departments are instructed to look into and find opportunities for an annual increase in the volume of paid services to the population by 15-20 percent above the city's comprehensive program, and to submit their proposals to the gorkom Bureau.

We hope that a resolution on public health will soon be published. Clear-cut targets have been set in this direction.

But in addition to this, in the course of this year and next year, the Moscow City Main Administration for Public Health (Comrade V.N. Mudrak) is in a position to open, in addition to the 14 consultation and diagnosis centers planned under the "Health" Targeted Comprehensive Program, a further 5 such centers based at city hospitals and also 4 outpatient and inpatient units in different specialized fields, and also to increase the volume of paid medical services by 20 percent and the volume of repair and maintenance work by 30 percent. Advantage must be taken of this opportunity. We all must bear in mind that, as science shows, health is 50 percent dependent on man's healthy way of life. It is necessary to insistently cultivate physical culture activity among Muscovites and to persistently combat smoking and drunkenness.

Comrades A.I. Zolotarev and A.N. Kirpenko are correct—the transportation problem must be solved with greater energy and much more quickly. Over the period of 1 year, the loading of rolling stock has been successfully reduced from 7.5 to 6.5 persons per square meter. But this is obviously insufficient.

The level of carrying capacity of surface passenger transport during the rush hour planned for the end of 1989 will have to be provided this very year. Estimates show that there is a real possibility of achieving this year 24 percent of the 30 percent carrying capacity increase pledged for the end of the 5-year plan period.

A detailed economic analysis enables us to set the Moscow Gorispolkom, the Moscow Subway, and the Moscow Subway Construction Administration the task of commissioning 11.4 km plus 6 stations on the Timiryazevskaya and Filevskaya lines 1 year ahead of schedule.

Construction industry workers have undertaken to complete the reconstruction of railroad stations (Peveletskiy and Kazanskiy) 1 year ahead of schedule.

It is incumbent upon the gorispolkom and the Moscow City telephone network to do everything necessary to ensure that in 1987 they will be able to satisfy residents' applications for telephone installation within 1 year from the date the application is filed not only in the zones of Dzerzhinskiy and Kutuzovskiy telephone exchanges (in line with social pledges), but also in the Central telephone exchange zone, while the scheduled time for Arbatsko-Moskvoretskiy, Leninskiy, Miusskiy, and Cheremushinskiy telephone exchanges should be brought forward by 1 year from 1990 to 1989.

Comrades!

There is perfectly justified alarm as regards the state of affairs in the city's economy. This was expressed by many speakers.

The paramount task stemming from the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum decisions is to prepare for the entry into force of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association). Taking into account the suggestions made at the plenum, the following rough scheme of actions is taking shape:

—the formation of labor collective councils must be undertaken immediately, and they must accumulate work experience. Some amendments may be introduced once the law comes into force (after 1 January 1988). This work must be organized by trade union organizations, and it is to be done in August-October of this year. We are not talking about formally setting up yet another routine organ, but about electing a plenipotentiary to represent the collective in the solution of all production and social questions.

Party organizations must not keep aloof from this. But they must not dictate or impose their own "fully agreed" nominations. Forms of party influence must be sought. This is something to be done by both raykoms and gorkom departments, especially during the period when a sort of "dual" economy will be in operation.

The councils must not be allowed to turn into obedient appendages of the administration. Anxiety in this context was expressed today by Comrade V.Ye. Chabrikov and others. The councils must be headed by the most authoritative members of labor collectives;

—the first task of the future councils will be to evaluate the financial and economic condition of the enterprise. It is necessary to look into the normatives, determine the weakest spots, and implement measures to prepare for transition to self-financing. In November every enterprise must be issued with its own readiness documentation. This work must be conducted in the closest of contact with the ministries;

—right at this stage the councils must actively embark on plan elaboration "from below" so that the tasks envisaged by the 5-year plan are perceived as the minimum and the socialist pledges elaborated for 1988 take the cost-cutting mechanism fully into account.

It is necessary to immediately tackle the introduction of the new economic mechanism in industry's brain center—the scientific research institutes and design bureaus. The results which can be achieved can be seen from the example of Moscow's "Kvant" Science and Production Association, which is already applying these principles of economic management. Development time there has been cut down by a factor of 1.3-1.5, and the time taken for production setup by a factor of 1.5-2.0. Almost one-third of profits result directly from the work of scientific subdivisions. Compared with the 5-year plan targets, the volume of production will increase by a factor of 1.6. Scientific developments in the association are paid for by commodity output. I would also like to note: Such fundamentally new cooperation is conducted not under conditions of a "pure" experiment but under conventional and, to start with, very complex financial and economic conditions.

We expect that Moscow's science will be given a serious boost in the direction of intensification by the city conference on key questions of scientific and technical progress, the organizational committee for whose preparation is headed by Party Gorkom Second Secretary Comrade Yu.A. Belyakov.

Comrade Yu.A. Ryzhov spoke here of the ties between sectorial, VUZ, and academy science. This suggestion must be taken into account, especially in view of the fact that many of Moscow's 11 intersectorial science and technology complexes are still not functioning properly. It is suggested that gorkom secretaries be instructed, together with the ministries and the USSR Academy of Sciences, to analyze the work of Moscow's science and technology complexes and submit proposals to the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Bureau. Gorkom Secretary Comrade O.A. Kor[illegible]ev is responsible for their generalization.

Over the next 2 months every scientific collective must elaborate precise measures and specific schedules for transition to economic accountability and must define the parameters of acceleration. Such proposals have been submitted by Comrades N.P. Lyakishev, P.A. Klimov, and others. It is worth giving attention to the proposals to set up extraordinary "liquidation committees for sterile institutes." We will instruct the gorkom Bureau to look into the matter.

Following the example of the Ukraine and Leningrad, it is necessary to set up at least 10 economically accountable engineering centers and introduction centers in Moscow by the end of the year.

Let me come back once again to the solution of social questions in the production sphere.

As a result of the transition to multishift working (652 enterprises have already switched) by the end of this year, it is necessary to withdraw at least 24,200 more units of obsolete equipment and release 142,000 square meters of space. Some 34,000 square meters of this area must be allocated for the solution of social problems in the production sphere.

There are well known examples of enterprises considerably improving their work following the transition to multishift working. For example, as a result of transition to 3-shift working, the tabulating machines plant (Director Comrade V.N. Voronov, Party Committee secretary Comrade V.I. Musin) withdrew 158 units of equipment, released 2,000 square meters of area, and 400 square meters of this area were allocated for social needs. This resulted in the complete, 100 percent, satisfaction of the collective's needs for sanitary and everday needs premises, and health units were fitted out in every shop. Sickness rates fell by 9.5 percent, while labor productivity increased sharply. There is no question that the collective is actively embarking on restructuring; a good example to be emulated by others.

Questions of material and technical supply will be highly important under the conditions of transition to self-financing. We believe that Moscow's economic complex

could become a testing ground for checking out the possibility of widely developing wholesale trade in the means of production and direct links between enterprises. It has been agreed with the USSR Gossnab that appropriate proposals should be elaborated within 2 months. The guideline is to boost the volume of wholesale trade to 20-30 percent in 1988.

Right away we are faced with the question of whether our enterprises are ready and able to enter the open market with output that will be in excess of plan; to study market conditions and consumer requirements; to learn not only to produce sound output but also to trade.

The work on improving output quality must be evaluated in a principled party fashion.

A few days ago the television showed several interviews at the entrance of the No. 2 Clocks and Watches Plant. Only 1 in 10 interviewees was wearing a Soviet-made watch.

Moscow's machine tool builders are striving by all means to obtain imported equipment for their own retooling. This indeed provides a real assessment of our own technical standards and the quality of manufactured output! Let me remind you of the target set for Moscow's industry this year: Some 60 percent of the output subject to certification must meet top-quality standards.

It has been decided to transfer 49 more enterprises, in addition to the current 59, to state acceptance from 1 January 1988. It is necessary, without wasting a single day, to analyze in detail and determine what must be done at every enterprise for this purpose. Broad use is to be made of the good experience and bitter lessons of enterprises already operating under these conditions. (Some of them still fail to meet the norms.) Not to allow such failures—this must be the task of raykoms and primary party organizations. Advantage must be taken of the assistance offered by ministries and the USSR State Committee for Standards.

As regards our practical work for the restructuring of the finance and credit mechanism, three tasks could be formulated:

—leaders of city banks and primary party organization secretaries must right away start organizing their work so that the banks become not a penalizing but an encouraging partner of enterprises;

—all loss-making organizations (23 in industry and 47 in the construction industry) must be constantly monitored. Work with them must be done on a monthly and weekly basis so as to bring them out of the debt trap. Particular attention must be given to low-profitability enterprises;

—there must be a study of the possibility of transferring the absolute majority of rayon enterprises and organizations to self-financing.

It is necessary to assess the financial situation of every rayon and, taking this into account, to produce by year's end a projection of the transition of rayons to self-financing. We must be prepared to examine rayon proposals as regards starting work under the new conditions this year, in 1988.

It is necessary right away to make calculations and draft proposals for the transition of the city as a whole to self-financing in 1989. A commission to undertake the organization of this work must be set up in September.

Let us get down to work on two paramount tasks of the reform of price formation:

—to make sure that the problems of reducing prime costs become a matter of daily concern for all personnel, from workers to directors;

—to declare war on the waste of raw materials, electricity, water, land, materials, and labor resources.

As you may recall, a gorkom plenum instructed the city's People's Control Committee to take charge of work on savings and thrift. So, let us use one single indicator to evaluate the work by Comrade P.Ye. Dikarev and the committee he heads: the actual reduction of the prime costs of the output manufactured in the city achieved as a result of intensive cutbacks in material expenditures.

It is necessary to give a new fillip to the widespread establishment of economically accountable [khozraschetnyy] teams. We must set the following task: An enterprise is to be deemed ready to work under the new conditions only when the overwhelming majority of primary links in the collective operate on the basis of economic accountability. Proceeding on the basis of such an approach, party committees must review their plans for the creation of economically accountable subdivisions.

It is necessary to look again at the possibilities of accelerating the transition of Moscow's construction industry main administrations to economic accountability. The Moscow City Main Administration for Housing and Civil Construction, the Moscow City Main Administration for Repairs to Housing [Glavmosremont], and the Moscow City Main Administration for the Construction Materials Industry [Glavmospromstroymaterialy] are planning this transition for 1989.

Now it is necessary to step up work on the transfer of construction industry trusts and administrations to collective contracts. The pledges for the year have already been fulfilled, and it is necessary to provide utmost support for construction industry workers who have resolved to complete the transfer of all organizations to contractual forms of work this year. Labor productivity in trusts which have switched to collective contracts has increased 15-20 percent.

One of the main questions facing us is the general plan for managing the city's economy. We know about restructuring and the simplification of structures by

cutting back the apparatus in the construction industry complex, the consumer services sphere, and trade. Taking into account the groundwork already done, the Moscow Gorispolkom must submit to the government by 1 January 1988 proposals for the overall structure of the management of Moscow's economy.

Comrade V.T. Saykin is to be instructed to ensure the preparation of all necessary documents. The following conditions must be agreed in principle:

—to ensure the interlinkage of territorial and sectorial interests;

—to reduce tiers of management to two;

—to reduce the management apparatus to 50 percent;

—to aim for the utilization of the latest methods and means of management;

—to enhance the role, independence, and responsibility of rayon links.

The ispolkom's proposal to create a Main Production-Economic Administration to perform the functions of managing the city's economy deserves approval.

Speaking about the overall implementation of restructuring in the city's economy from the organizational viewpoint, the gorkom Bureau deems it expedient for economic councils to be established under the gorkom and raykoms consisting of members of elected organs, specialists, scientists, party, trade union, and Komsomol officials, soviet organs officials, and others. They ought to start work in September. They ought to be responsible for the entire organization of the transition. The regular review of the economic situation in rayons and enterprises must be one of the tasks of economic councils.

Comrades!

Mass universal economic education must occupy a particular position in the political work to fulfill the plenum decisions.

It must be conducted in two stages. The education of 520,000 working people from enterprises and organizations which are either already operating under conditions of complete economic accountability and self-financing or will operate under them from 1 January 1988 must take place in August-September.

A further 560,000 working people will undergo universal economic education in October-November.

It must be properly organized. Account must be taken of the proposals and remarks made particularly by Comrades A.G. Samarkin and Z.I. Ryzhkova, and specialists from ministries, departments, and scientific institutions must be attached to enterprises to ensure that the universal economic education is conducted in a skilled manner.

Many speakers mentioned the particular responsibility of leaders for the practical implementation of the economy's fundamental restructuring. This is correct. Many of them are still short on professionalism, economic knowledge, and skill to organize the work and bring it to fruition. This also applies to leaders at city level.

Several persons today expressed dissatisfaction with the delays in passing USSR Council of Ministers resolutions on several acute problems concerning the development of Moscow's economy. Accord on these resolutions was reached last year. A time schedule for the submission of proposals to the government was approved in March this year. These schedules have not been observed. Only one resolution has been issued so far, and agreed documents have been submitted on a further two problems. Coordination and additional work are still being done on the remaining 10 problems. Yet this work is being done by gorkom secretaries and Moscow Gorispolkom deputy chairmen. This is not good enough, it is too slow. After all, it concerns the needs of Muscovites.

Now about something which demands immediate and direct influence by party committees and Communists in the city in the ideological and moral sphere. The propaganda of the June plenum stipulations which has been launched must become deeper, more intelligible, and more purposeful.

The upcoming integrated political day on 11 August, on the topic of "Development of Self-management in Production," must become an opportunity to conduct an objective discussion with Muscovites and answer the numerous questions arising in connection with the adoption of the Law on the State Enterprise.

Another task that comes to the forefront is the creation of a city system for studying and shaping public opinion. Under no circumstances must this system be brought down to the level of formal polling. The most effective method is provided by lively and trusting contacts with people. Only thus will it be possible to maintain the atmosphere of glasnost and democratism, and to accurately sense the moods, sore points, and "zones of lack of understanding."

Today, for example, it is necessary to painstakingly explain topics concerning the policy of price formation, certain periods and personalities in our history, national relations, and the prevention of diseases and of AIDS in particular. For this purpose it is necessary to organize mobile groups made up of skilled specialists.

Take the question of prices for example. It is not irrelevant and it affects the interests of all people. Such disparity between the cost and price of so many types of goods should not exist. Work is now under way to prepare for a review of wholesale and, possibly, retail prices and the entire price formation system. But people must know that no major decisions will be made without consultation with them.

Organizational questions concerning the setting up of public opinion services under party committees must be

solved in September-October. Comrades Yu.A. Vinogradov, B.M. Mikhaylov, and G.K. Skryabin are in charge of coordination.

In order to further improve the moral atmosphere in the city, a number of measures have been planned to step up the struggle against drunkenness, drug addiction, prostitution, and antisocial phenomena. In particular, a "Law and Order" public inspection will be be carried out this fall (responsibility for it has been assigned to Comrades N.Ye. Chelnokov, A.Ya. Nemtinov, A.I. Kostenko, and P.S. Bogdanov). The results of the inspection and of the general work to eradicate drunkenness, moonshining, and moral dissoluteness must be regularly and pointedly covered by the press, and those persons who are specifically to blame for the persistence of social ills must be pilloried.

It is necessary to take further steps to improve work with the population of microrayons in the near future. Especially before City Day, 19 September. Residents' assemblies (rallies) are to be organized to discuss topical tasks concerning public services, education, and organizational matters. "Local Initiative Funds" must be set up to attract the resources necessary for this purpose. Reports must be read by recently elected deputies and officials from city and rayon services on progress in the fulfillment of mandates and on progress in the fulfillment of preelection promises and mutual pledges.

One of the most important tasks in the immediate future is to raise the efficiency of city and house newspapers, journals, television and radio broadcasting, and editorial and publishing collectives. The time has come to conduct yet another "emergency session" of city journalists with gorkom secretaries.

The question of ideological cadres is of decisive importance. Dogmatists and demagogues can no longer be tolerated in their ranks. What we need are commissars and political leaders of restructuring. A bolder approach must be adopted in replacing those who are incapable of working with people. The cadres structure must be consolidated in all forms of political education before the start of the academic year.

Under the conditions of restructuring and expansion of democracy there is a need for fundamental renewal of the forms and methods of party work, for abandonment of prevailing stereotypes and administrative-pressure style of leadership.

The emerging experience in assimilating new approaches to political leadership and organizational and ideological work must be made available to every raykom, party committee, and bureau—this is a task for gorkom departments, the Moscow Higher Party School, and the party press.

The problem of improving the structure of party apparatuses is acquiring paramount importance. Many persons spoke of this today.

It has become obvious: The sectorial approach has outlived its time, it leads to the supplanting of economic organs and applies the brakes on the assimilation of political methods of leadership.

The almost 6 months of experience in work by four raykoms (Krasnopresnenskiy, Kalininskiy, Sverdlovskiy, and Sovetskiy) using the new structure generally confirms its expediency. Many raykoms are filing requests for permission to switch to the new structure.

The following proposal is offered for your consideration:

1. To instruct the gorkom Bureau to prepare and submit to the CPSU Central Committee proposals to change the apparatus structure in all of Moscow's raykoms;

2. to establish a group for the elaboration of proposals to improve the structure of the gorkom apparatus. A time limit of 3 months is to be set;

3. to conduct a review of the structure of all party organizations at enterprises and organizations switching to new conditions of work.

Raykoms and party organizations must begin specific work on preparation for the 19th all-Union party conference.

Comrades!

Now it is important for every party organization to clearly single out the main task whose solution will primarily enable the collective to achieve higher qualitative standards of work. The ways to achieve this solution must be mapped out and the targets must be set. Help in this work must be provided by raykoms and gorkom departments.

Particularly as regards the tasks of ministry party committees, the process of restructuring the structure of central management organs is painful and complex. The main point now is to reinforce the key sections with highly skilled and creative specialists and get rid of bureaucrats. With regard to the considerable apparatus cutbacks, it is necessary to to ensure a most tactful attitude toward those who will be offered different work.

Taking into account the criticism contained in many speeches (by Comrades Ye.A. Brakov, L.M. Novichkova, A.G. Samarkin), Gorkom Secretary Comrade O.A. Korolev must coordinate the work by party committees in sectorial ministries and city enterprises switching to new conditions of economic management.

In accordance with the CPSU Statutes, gorkom and raykom plenums and party meetings and conferences must be held in November-December this year to hear reports by party committees and bureaus on their work in exercising leadership of restructuring. Report and election meetings are already under way in smaller organizations and party groups.

On the basis of proposals by Comrade L.N. Shepilova and others, let us today set this task: Every member of an elected party organ, including raykom and gorkom bureau members, must report on his personal work to committee sessions, party meetings, or labor collectives.

It is necessary to continue the work to evaluate all leadership cadres and reinforce the laggard sectors. Everyone has been given sufficient time to prove himself.

The gorkom bureau submits the following proposal: 1—to complete this year the certification of cadres at all levels in enterprises switching to complete economic accountability and self-financing; 2—every economic leader must report to his collective within a 6-month period. The collective can then decide whether he can be trusted to lead in the future.

Party committees and organizations must seek new approaches in their work with cadres. Demandingness and strict personal exactingness for inaction and sloppiness, coupled with a considerate and tactful attitude toward people must remain a norm of party life. The selection, placement, and education of cadres have always been and remain the main feature of party work.

Comrades!

Even a brief enumeration of the paramount tasks shows what a complex and crucial sector of the path to renewal lies ahead of us. This path can be successfully traversed only if we act with utmost energy and determination on a daily basis.

We are on the threshold of the Great October's 70th anniversary. This is not just a celebration, it is a review of our forces and abilities to implement the plans set by the party. People will judge the progress of restructuring in the city by the extent to which socialist pledges are successfully fulfilled by 7 November. The most important pledge—100-percent fulfillment of contractual deliveries—will constitute not only a substantial landmark but also a confirmation of Muscovites' civic responsibility and political maturity. The city's labor collectives have decided to hold a subbotnik [voluntary unpaid Saturday work] on 12 September in honor of the holiday. This proposal has been approved.

Much work lies ahead. We will possibly encounter temporary failures in the practical implementation of the ideas of restructuring and in the introduction of the modern principles of economic management. We must not be afraid of this. Playing safe, waiting to be prompted from above, and resting content with what has been achieved lead to retreat and to the surrender of positions gained.

The task is as follows: Every month must see in every sector a real, visible, and tangible—even if only small—advance. Risks must be taken for the sake of the goal, changing circumstances must be promptly anticipated, we must be prepared for any unexpected developments, and be masters of the situation.

To be always among people, to work tirelessly, and to persistently aim for practical changes for the better: this must be the style of our work in this crucial, complex, but extremely interesting time.

Yeltsin Chairs Debate on Apartment Blocks

PM161031 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 Sep 87 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The Future of Five-Story Buildings; Session of the Urban Development Consultative Council"]

[Excerpts] The problem of the five-story apartment blocks built in the fifties and sixties has become one of the most worrying problems in the city. That was the point of departure for the council session and it was constantly returned to in the course of the discussion. [passage omitted]

The Urban Development Consultative Council session was chaired by B.N. Yeltsin, first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

V.T. Saykin, chairman of Moscow Gorispolkom, Moscow CPSU Gorkom secretaries, deputy chairmen of the gorispolkom, raykom secretaries, rayispolkom leaders, specialists, and representatives of the public also took part.

Visits Moscow School

PM161329 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 Sep 87 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Peace Lesson. September 1 Is World Peace Day and Trade Union Action for Peace Day and the First Lesson of the New School Year in the Capital's Schools Was a Peace Lesson"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Knowledge Day was marked in all the city's schools. Taking part were members of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Bureau and leaders of the Moscow Gorispolkom.

B.N. Yeltsin, first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, visited school 987 in Krasnogvardeyskiy Rayon. [passage omitted]

Dzerzhinskiy's Role in 1918 Rebellion Viewed

PM161343 [Editorial Report] Moscow *Sovetskaya Rossiya* in Russian on 9 September 1987 in its Second Edition carries on page 4 a full-page feature entitled "July 6: What Must Be Remembered about the Left Socialist Revolutionary [SR] Rebellion in 1918 in the Interests of Truth," prepared by Doctor of Historical Sciences Professor A. Velidov. The feature opens with a reader's letter and editorial introduction, as follows:

"'Esteemed Editor,

"'Regarding the history of the revolution we have quite detailed knowledge about the Left SR rebellion. But I recently heard that a somewhat different interpretation

of these events, including the role played in them by Cheka Chairman F.E. Dzerzhinskiy, is now being given. I would like to receive a clear reply as to how events developed during those anxious days in 1918.

"'E. Sergeyev, Kaliningrad.'

"Numerous attempts to distort the true meaning of the events connected with the Left SR rebellion in July 1918 and present the decisive steps taken by the Soviet Government to quell the rebellion as virtually a settling of scores with dissenters have been made before, including literally immediately after the rebellion's inglorious end. To meet our reader's request the editorial office has asked Doctor of Historical Sciences Prof A.S. Velidov to throw light on certain aspects of the history of the Left SR rebellion."

Velidov's article begins:

"I should say that the talk of a somewhat different interpretation of this historical episode which you mention in your letter is quite old and is a pretty hackneyed refrain, although it is true that an attempt to revive it and thereby denigrate our revolution has been made in connection with the approaching anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

"This May, for example, the emigre newspaper *Novoye Russkoye Slovo*, published in New York, carried a long article by S. Reznik under the pretentious title "Feliks Dzerzhinskiy: Outline of a Literary Portrait." In the fourth chapter of the essay, which is devoted to the events of 6 July, he maintains that the days in July were 'the darkest and most suspect stage of Dzerzhinskiy's life.' On the basis of all kinds of conjecture, Reznik tries to prove that 'to all intents and purposes there was no' Left SR rebellion and it all effectively boiled down to the arrest of the Cheka chairman.

"Unfortunately, the revival of such fabrications has been aided by the recent appearance in our press of certain articles by authors who, while advocating the 'restoration of historical truth,' sometimes lapse into extremes and give a subjective, one-sided assessment of events and the role of historical figures and even whole parties.

"It is well known that in December 1917 the Bolsheviks formed a governmental bloc with the Left SR's. This bloc was essential to strengthen Soviet power and win over the broad masses of the peasantry, among whom the Left SR's were influential, to the proletariat's side. On the basic questions of developing the revolution—the power of the soviets and the crushing of opposition by the overthrown exploiter classes—the Bolsheviks and Left SR's pursued a largely coordinated policy.

"In March 1918 the Left SR's left the Soviet of People's Commissars in protest at the conclusion of the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty. But they remained in the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and all other state organs, including the Cheka Military Department. They took part, together with the Bolsheviks, in Soviet building and waged struggle against the White Guards and Socialist Revolutionary-Menshevik counterrevolution, speculation, and banditry. However, on many political questions the Left SR's expressed sharp disagreement with the Bolsheviks and contradictions grew. They became particularly acute in the summer of 1918. The Bolsheviks considered that the contradictions concerned individual questions of Soviet building and would be overcome as the revolution developed. The Left SR's, however, had their own view of the situation. In June they made the decision to forcibly change the Soviet power's policy. True, both during the days of the rebellion and after it was crushed the SR leaders tried by means of demagogic phrases to assure people that they were in favor of Soviet power and world revolution and that the aim of their actions was to force the Bolsheviks to renounce the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty and 'cast off the German imperialist yoke.' But the documents (the proceedings of the inquiry into the rebellion appeared in the 'Cheka Red Book' that was published back in 1920) show that it was merely an attempt to disguise the real aims."

The rest of the feature consists of documents from 1918 plus a commentary by Velidov. The documents include minutes of a Left SR Party Central Committee session and speeches by SR leaders, testimony by Dzerzhinskiy to the Special Commission of Inquiry and other statements, and an extract from the sentence passed on SR leaders by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee Revolutionary Tribunal. These show, according to Velidov, that Reznik's allegations, including the claim that the assassination of the German ambassador was a "provocation planned by none other than Dzerzhinskiy and perhaps even Lenin," are false. Velidov also states that while Dzerzhinskiy did indeed think, along with the Left SR's, that the conclusion of the peace with Germany was a mistake, he abstained during the vote on the question and stated at the time that agitation against the Bolshevik Central Committee policy was impermissible. The fact that Left SR members of the Cheka, of which Dzerzhinskiy was the head, were involved in the assassination and rebellion is acknowledged, but Dzerzhinskiy's attitude of trust regarding the Left SR's prior to the rebellion, Velidov says, in no way differed from the rest of the Bolsheviks.

BRIEFS

Presidium Awards Red Banner

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has conferred the Order of the Labor Red Banner upon Ivan Tikhonovich Taranov, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Stavropol Kray Soviet of People's Deputies. This is in recognition of his many years of active work in party and local soviet organs, and to mark his 60th birthday. [Text][Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 15 Sep 87 LD]

Economic

Bogomolov Admits Inflation Understated

AU160858 Paris AFP in English 0856 GMT 16 Sep 87

[Text] Moscow, Sept 16 (AFP)—A leading Soviet economist Wednesday admitted that official Soviet statistics had under-stated the annual rate of inflation, indicating that the real figure stood at between three to four per cent annually.

In an article published in the weekly *Moscow News*, Oleg Bogomolov, director of the economics of the World Socialist System Institute, said that "since the end of the 1950s, the annual shopping basket of goods bought by the average city-dweller has gone up by no less than 1.5 to two times".

This works out at an annual inflation rate of 3 to 4 per cent, in line with Western economists' evaluation of the Soviet inflation rate.

"The retail price index published by the Central Statistical Administration does not reflect reality in all its fullness", he said. Last March, for the first time the statistics office indicated that inflation—which it coyly called an increase in the price index—existed, and was running at 0.5 per cent annually.

Mr. Bogomolov, who broke another taboo by pronouncing the word "inflatsia" (inflation) in his article, stressed that the price rises meant that the purchasing-power of the rouble had diminished.

He said that one of the main causes of the inflationary spiral in the Soviet Union was the over-supply of money by the State Bank (Gosbank), the Soviet Central Bank.

The problem was that the money was not finding its way back into the economy because of hoarding by Russians who were unable to spend in the shops for lack of consumer goods, he said.

Another problems was rising prices in machine-building, which had repercussions on other sectors of the economy.

To remedy the situation, Mr. Bogomolov called for monetarist-style policies which would affect non-productive sectors such as the "over-blown" state administration.

He also called for improved production of consumer goods.

The economist ruled out as being unpopular and unacceptable the introduction of indirect taxation or imposing forced loans on the population.

More Changes in Foreign Trade Urged

PM151231 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Sep 87 p 10

[Article by A. Dobrovolskiy, senior consultant at the All-Union "Sovintsentr" Association: "Economic Accountability Abroad"]

[Excerpts] *Literaturnaya Gazeta* is right to pose the question: Our foreign trade operations have been outside the sphere of glasnost for too long, as a result of which many problems have accumulated in the foreign trade system—problems which are finally being discussed in the open. As someone who knows the subject "from the inside" I too would like to join in the discussion.

For many years the former minister of foreign trade endlessly militated for a multiple increase in the volume of foreign trade operations. Gross turnover grew, but, if one can put it this way, the quality of the deals done, the way they were conceived, and the manner in which they were drawn up fell sharply. [Passage omitted]

Very many examples could be cited, but I think it is more a question of understanding why all this became possible. For instance, why did the country, on the basis of the 1986 figures, lose R6 billion from uninstalled imported machinery? Undoubtedly there are many reasons, including some which reflect general shortcomings in the country's economic mechanism. However, the most important "contribution" to the problem was made by the foreign trade system.

The ministry's former leadership constantly asserted the right of its department to monopolize foreign trade, citing Lenin's well known thesis. But this was sleight of hand. Lenin did talk about the state's monopoly on foreign trade, but by no means about a single ministry's. That is why the question of the foreign trade activity of all state and cooperative organizations has long been on the agenda, but undoubtedly only on condition that they all work on the basis of complete financial autonomy [khozraschet], self-capitalization, and self-financing. There can be no question of weak or unprofitable organizations or production facilities that cannot make ends meet within the country operating in foreign markets. Now, after the well known party and government resolutions on fundamentally improving foreign economic activity, when 20 ministries and departments, along with 70 major associations and enterprises, have become entitled to direct links with foreign firms, the question of cadres for such activity is being acutely posed. Under the new conditions it is necessary to resolutely break with the forms of our commercial service both within the country and abroad. Earning the maximum profit or—at the very least—breaking even are the criteria that should be the fundamental basis for Soviet organizations' foreign trade activity.

Not everyone was overjoyed by the foreign trade reform. The central apparatus was reduced and certain all-union foreign trade associations were revamped or disbanded. Many people took umbrage and are now maliciously waiting to see what mistakes the new Soviet foreign trade firms will make. And they may make some.

Foreign trade activity has its own specific features. In our country after the revolution the word "trader" became a pejorative term. However, it is inconceivable for a foreign trade worker to be good and efficient if he is not a good businessman. I am not talking about the

relevant education and work practice. Undoubtedly, traders must be real patriots—after all, talks on concluding a foreign deal are a battle, particularly when it is a question of large sums. And, as in battle, the winners are those who display iron will, boldness, profound knowledge, talent, and training. It should not be forgotten that sitting on the other side of the table are people of equal business qualities who are, however, unlike our ministry's staffers, risking their own money.

We select foreign trade cadres on the basis of paper rather than business information, and preference is given to activists in various spheres, but by no means the trade sphere. The ministry has been literally "taken over" by relatives of the "powers that be"—those are the sources of our incompetence, our mistakes, and failings when concluding deals. Let us also add the virtual lack of material interest in obtaining an advantageous contract, the lack of the risk of bankruptcy, and wage stability in the USSR and abroad irrespective of the results of work and—I am not talking about the criminal cases that have occurred—you have all the ingredients for loss-making deals and disasters.

This does not mean, of course, that there are no talented, real businessmen at the Ministry of Foreign Trade. They do exist, and it is thanks to them that there have been many foreign trade deals about which a great deal could be said if it were not for the term "trade secret." However, good examples do not eliminate the defective practice of the work of our foreign trade department. It would be very sad if after the foreign trade reform this practice were transferred to sectorial ministries and enterprises. I think that in order to resolutely combat the conclusion of loss-making foreign trade contracts this sphere must be controlled on the principle of state acceptance in industry.

Under the new conditions the foreign trade activity of Soviet enterprises and organizations needs to be advertised and correctly geared to exports and imports. As is customary in work with foreign firms in the socialist and capitalist countries, one cannot do without the presence of in-house and foreign advertising firms and consultants and the very wide range of services they provide. Such work has already been begun by certain subunits of the USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry and the Ministry of Foreign Trade. Recently the All-Union "Sovintsentr" Association introduced the foreign trade departments of "Uralmashzavod" from Sverdlovsk and the "Dzintars" Perfume Factory in Riga to foreign firms accredited in Moscow. The meetings showed that there are large numbers of services which foreign consultancies accredited in Moscow could offer Soviet enterprises. In seeking suitable exporters or importers, for instance.

The forms of foreign trade work need to be thoroughly restructured.

A procedure permitting joint enterprises—between Soviet and capitalist firms—to be created on Soviet territory has been in force since 1 January this year. As far as I am aware, only a few such joint firms have so far been created. Clearly, it was high time to permit the formation of such enterprises, however, I do not think that it is worth pinning great hopes on them.

As often happens in our country, something suddenly becomes fashionable. Joint firms are currently "flavor of the month," although such enterprises unfortunately are not "lifesavers." Capitalists will not provide selfless help, they will only invest their capital where profits will be higher than the overall world level. As long as our productivity is still lower than in many other countries we have to carefully calculate what we gain and lose from a joint deal when setting up such joint firms.

It seems to me, for instance, that, as we now say, the activation of the human factor—in this instance the activation of the entire army of foreign trade workers with specialist education, commercial experience, and knowledge of foreign languages who have displayed their moral, political, and businesslike qualities in practice—would be of far greater benefit than joint firms.

A large proportion of these cadres are currently being used very inefficiently, are shackled by various obsolete instructions and orders, and have been completely deprived in practice of any opportunity to display initiative. These people are basically concerned not to make any mistakes or take any risks, and at all costs to keep their slate clean and retain a positive foreign travel assessment report. Take any assessment report of any foreign trade worker and you can find what you like in it except anything about the specific benefit the worker provides to the state.

In this respect nothing has changed at the Ministry of Foreign Trade even after restructuring. A certain time ago I was present at a meeting between the new minister, B.I. Aristov, and propaganda workers. A great deal was said about cadre work, but when I listened I realized that familiar snippets from the old leadership's speeches were resounding around the hall.

Under the new conditions we must create forms of conducting foreign trade work whereby our businessmen abroad would have a direct material stake in the effectiveness of the deals they were striking. With this in mind, I sent the leadership of the Ministry of Foreign Trade a proposal about organizing abroad a Soviet firm working on the basis of complete economic accountability, self-capitalization, and self-financing. I consider the procedure whereby a Soviet trade official abroad receives guaranteed payment that is by no means always earned to be fundamentally wrong. That is the way we do things in our country, people will say. However, this procedure leads to people forgetting why they have been sent abroad and starting to engage in money-grubbing. Businessmen, even if they are Soviet, must earn their keep abroad. And there is no reason to fear this, just as there is no reason to fear natural selection. Will a representative who cannot earn his keep produce much commercial benefit for the state? It is in this way, on the

basis of financing their own activity, that all representatives of foreign firms in Moscow work.

Our foreign trade system could avoid a great deal of trouble in the future and sharply increase its efficiency if both material and moral incentives were provided for enterprise and initiative!

Popkova's Market Arguments Criticized

PM100859 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 35, Aug 87 (Sig Press 20 Aug 87) p 9

[Candidate of Economic Sciences T. Valovaya "Polemical Remarks": "The Difficult Path of Knowledge. Reflections on a Topical Book and a Sensational Article"]

[Text] "Fewer men have been driven crazy by love than by philosophizing about the nature of money."

Karl Marx was fond of citing this figurative expression by a British politician from the last century. Indeed, only the economic theory of Marxism was able to reveal from genuinely scientific positions the real nature of the capitalist economy's categories—commodity, value, money, market, competition. The economic realities of the 20th century have posed to political economists new questions linked with the historical process of the development of commodity production. One of the most intricate questions around which economists have conducted fierce discussions is the question concerning the market's role under socialism.

Today, when the radical reform of economic management envisages broader utilization of economic methods of planned leadership and commodity-money relations, the theoretical and practical importance of this problem has sharply increased. The CPSU Central Committee June Plenum noted that the whole set of problems involving the correlation between centralized planned leadership of the national economy and the independence of its individual links, between planning principles and commodity-money relations, needs to be seriously reexamined. V. Shemyatenkov's book *"Between Market Forces and Planning Principles (How Does Monopolist Competition 'Work')"* ["Mezhdu Stikhiyey i Planomernostyu (Kak 'Rabotayet' Monopolisticheskaya Konkurentsiya)"], recently published by "Mysl" Publishing House, is uncommonly timely in this context.

The problems it raises as regards the nature of monopolist competition and monopoly enterprise and the role of the economic mechanism in the confrontation between the two systems are, without any doubt, of interest not only for specialists in economics but also for a wide circle of readers who have recently been showered with articles by "home-grown" champions of market freedom, claiming in particular that the "golden age" of free enterprises still lies ahead. Is this really so?

The book in question describes comprehensively and in great depth the essence of today's capitalist economic mechanism, whose main principle is the interaction between firms and the market. The author correctly notes that bourgeois social awareness is distinguished by a fetishist perception of the market and inexplicable faith in its miraculous force. "Out of all the stereotypes of bourgeois and reformist propaganda, the market myth is the most dangerous." Some working people are held captive by ideas generated by bourgeois propaganda, and associate illusory hopes for the rapid and easy growth of prosperity with the utilization of market forces under the conditions of socialism. The monograph proves on the basis of profoundly scientific analysis that this ideological phenomenon is based on several specific peculiarities of the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism and the establishment of the new formation.

The author notes that the commodity form of socialist product is fraught with the potential danger of the emergence of partial discrepancies between personal, group, and social interests. This provides a basis for speculative attempts by the class enemy, who is striving by all means to set plan and market in mutual opposition, to shake the foundations of the socialist economy, and to revive private ownership mentality among the population of socialist countries.

Even some of our own economists are trying to set plan in opposition to market. L. Popkova's article "Where Are the Pies Bigger and Better," which was published in *Novyy Mir* Issue No. 5 and has already generated quite a few arguments, is indicative in this respect. Pretending to be impartial, L. Popkova refuses to openly declare on whose side she stands—the plan's or the market's. But there can hardly be any doubts as to who enjoys the "ideological sympathies" of an economist who claims that socialism and market are incompatible and that pies (read: living standards) are bigger wherever the market is stronger, and who finally goes as far as to make the blasphemous claim that the 20th century has proved to be so bloody because "for a long time, free enterprise was stifled by the remnants of feudalism and the activities of all kinds of utopians."

The author clearly does not believe in the socialist economy's future and her preference lies with free enterprise. In her view, capitalist "pies" are bigger and better than socialist ones. After all, it is all a matter of taste. It is good that glasnost in our society makes it possible to write this openly. It is good that the times of "applying labels" have gone. It is, however, inappropriate to distort that in which you do not believe in order to suit your own taste.

"Wherever there is socialism, there is not, and I repeat, there cannot be any place for market or liberal spirit. I also apply this belief of mine to the current attempts to steer the national economy along consumer-oriented lines. The law of added value cannot operate under the conditions of a planned economy, socialism is incompatible with the market. Neither Marx nor Lenin made any mistakes on this account. Socialism is a system of a planned economy. It is a different matter that, apparently, the economic efficiency of this system was somewhat

exaggerated, as was its potential to ensure a fast and steady growth of prosperity."

It seems to me that, as regards the plethora of distortions, this short paragraph can hold its own against much of the prolix material carried by Western newspapers. Attempts are made to convince us that the founders of Marxism-Leninism bequeathed to us socialism in a ready-made form, having clearly laid down what is to be done and how it is to be done. But, it is claimed, this system operates inefficiently.

Everything here has been turned upside down. Let us turn again to the book *"Between Market Forces and Planning Principles."* Its author clearly proves that the solution of questions concerning the specific forms and methods for implementing the revolutionary transformation of society's socioeconomic life was left by Marx and Engels to subsequent generations of revolutionaries since the practical experience of the workers' movement at that time could not have, of course, thrown light on the details of the future revolution. "Ready-made ideas regarding details of the future society's organization? You will not find even a trace of them in us," Engels wrote.

The enormous theoretical wealth bequeathed to us by the founders of Marxism-Leninism and the practical experience of real socialism — these are described in a bold and innovative fashion in the section "Economic Program of the Socialist Revolution" in the book *"Between Market Forces and Planning Principles."* I highly recommend a study of this section by those gullible readers who have accepted L. Popkova's claim that, in Lenin's opinion, the law of added value cannot operate under the conditions of planned economy.

L. Popkova does not believe in the possibility of a radical reform of the Soviet economy. Once again, she is entitled to her opinion. But why claim that Vladimir Ilich Lenin's fundamental stipulations on the need for economic accountability [khozyaystvennyy raschet] and material interest under socialism, which underlie the restructuring, are a "culled selection of quotations?" It is well known that Lenin repeatedly spoke on the subject, and quite a few of his works were devoted to summing up the experience of the first few years of socialist economic management.

Coming back to L. Popkova's claim about the unrealistic nature of the reform of our economy, it must be said that now even bourgeois ideologists are less and less inclined to denigrate the changes in the Soviet Union. It is indicative that much of bourgeois propaganda's response to the party Central Committee June plenum emphasizes the realism and radical nature of the solutions outlined by it. Here, for example, is an admission by *The New York Times*, one of the most influential U.S. newspapers. Speaking about the planned reforms in the USSR, it writes: "There is no need for vain deliberations whether the reforms are evidence of convergence with Western ideals and institutions. There is no need to be in a hurry to proclaim success or failure, or to exaggerate the West's influence. Whatever happens will be based on Russian history and **Soviet society**." (Boldface ours—Editorial Office)

Upholding the concept of the incompatibility between "plan and market," the author of the article "Where Are the Pies Bigger and Better?" tries to make the reader believe that we are marching along the path of West European social democracy and threatens with the results of the economic policy of social democratic governments — declining growth rates, inflation, and declining competitiveness of industry. But any economist taking on the elaboration of such an acute and topical subject, ought to be familiar with truisms: Western social democrats are failing not because they are attempting the "redistribution of wealth and the imposition of social justice," but because they are implementing their economic policy from petty bourgeois reformist positions. Moreover, impartial statistics testify that whenever social democrats have been in power in various countries, this has not necessarily had devastating consequences for the economy. During the seventies, for example, when the coalition of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and the Free Democratic Party was in power, West Germany maintained and even consolidated its economic positions and overtook its competitors in terms of several indicators despite the deteriorating general conditions for the development of the world capitalist economy.

It appears that readers ought to be even more frightened by L. Popkova's thesis about the 20th century becoming bloody through the fault of "all kinds of utopians" stifling free enterprise. Does L. Popkova again have the Western social democrats in mind? And, by the way, what is meant by "remnants of feudalism?" In any case, the author of the article has been exceptionally harsh in her treatment of social democrats who, in this case, have proved more than correct. After all, neither the U.S. Republicans nor the British Conservatives have ever tried to blame social democracy for the difficult, and at times even terrifying events in the last century of this millennium.

To tell the truth, I wanted to find out more about the author's stance on this question and her "experience of studying the path" of West European social democracy. Having decided that this must have been the topic of her degree dissertation, I made my way to the V.I. Lenin USSR State Library. But I hit a snag—no such work was to be found. Does this mean that a pseudonym had been used? But then why add "candidate of economic sciences?" Actually, I am not raising doubts whether the author of the article has a scientific degree or not. Even so, however, to use a pseudonym — which is the sacred right of any writer—and to add a scientific title only for the sake of being more convincing is, to use the vocabulary of L. Popkova herself, nothing but "balancing on two stools."

Using the plan as a threat and the market as a lure, the author presents a string of one distortion after another.

"Look," the author of the journal article writes, "at the socialist countries: Wherever there is more market, the pies are bigger and better." Really? Of course, it is no surprise to hear such deliberations coming from ordinary tourists who have just returned from a brief visit abroad. But a candidate of economic sciences, lecturing us on how carefully one ought to treat the classics and lamenting that political economists aim for nothing better than a simple average, must in all likelihood know that the state of a country's economy cannot be judged only by the glitter of store windows and the range of goods in them. I would highly recommend to L. Popkova that she read the section entitled "Are Appearances Real?" in the book *"Between Market Forces and Planning Principles,"* which reveals Marx's profound thought that the impressions of people directly involved in capitalist relations of production are an appearance distorting the essence of real economic relations. It is these distortions that some "scientists" try to present as reality.

And lastly. The author of these lines makes no secret of the fact that she [Valovaya] perceives no antagonism between plan and market. I believe that, sooner or later, the socialist economy will find the best possible combination of them. Let one socialist country have slightly more plan, let another have slightly more market. And let this correlation change. This can only enrich socialism. After all, ultimately Marxism-Leninism—if L. Popkova would excuse the "quotation"—is not a dogma.

And while on the topic of quotations. It is not right, even when one does not like quotations, to distort their content. For example, L. Popkova writes in conclusion: "My second remark refers to the likely question of where the author's ideological sympathies lie, with the plan or with the market. I would like to remind, those who want to know, of Engels' famous words that the man of science must have no ideals because the existence of ideals means prejudice and prevents reality from being perceived as it is."

In this instance L. Popkova resorts to the principle of quotation "culling," which she has already condemned. Let us recall the context of Engels' words. It is well known that Marx was resolutely against any attempts to extol his personality. Following his death, Engels took over from him. Outlining in a letter to Paul Lafargue his remarks on a review by Lafargue of a book written by a French bourgeois economist, Engels wrote: "Marx would protest against the 'political and social ideal' you attribute to him. When talking about a 'man of science,' of economic science, he must have no ideals, he elaborates scientific results, and when at the same time he is also a man of the party, he struggles for the implementation of these results. A man with ideals cannot be a man of science, because he proceeds on the basis of prejudiced opinion" (Vol 36, p 170). In other words, Engels warns Marxists against blind worship of Marx's authority, demanding of them not to transform him into a "political and social ideal" but to act creatively and with due consideration for circumstances. To be guided not by an idealized personality but by party-mindedness based on knowledge and not on feelings. This is the essence of the remarks by one of the founders of Marxism. But our educated "man of science," intoxicated by "market forces," has failed to perceive the true meaning of Engels' words or, and this is even worse, has deliberately concocted them to suit his purpose. And this prevents him from seeing "reality as it is."

I persistently recommend to all who have read the sensational journal publication that they study the profound and intelligent book "Between Market Forces and Planning Principles," which demonstrates in particular how difficult and thorny is the path of the acquisition of knowledge of society's socioeconomic realities, what complex work is involved in perceiving the nature of plan and market. Knowledge of the strong and weak aspects of the opposite system of economic management, V. Shemyatenkov emphasizes, is one of the prerequisites for successful improvement of socialist economic management and further progress in the economic rivalry with capitalism. It can also be added that one can judge whether "pies are bigger and better" only by becoming familiar with the real as opposed to the apparent nature of market forces. Not forgetting, of course, who is getting the pies.

Committee Head Discusses Price Reform

PM071523 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Aug 87 Second Edition p 2

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences V. Pavlov, chairman of the USSR State Committee on Prices: "Radical Reform of Price Formation"]

[Text] The tasks, aims, and directions of the party's economic strategy in the restructuring process were defined by the Central Committee April (1985) plenum and the 27th congress. The large-scale intensive work of shaping all the components of an integrated system for the planning and management of a unified national economic complex — political, economic, and legal — was completed by the June Central Committee plenum. The revolutionary transformations will help the Soviet economy achieve a qualitatively new level.

The restructuring of price formation is one of the key points of these transformations. "The reform of wholesale prices," M.S. Gorbachev noted, "should improve the situation in the national economy and improve the conditions for the campaign for production efficiency, resource saving, and output quality. As for retail prices, change there must not only not lead to a lowering of the working people's living standard but, on the contrary, must raise that level for certain categories of working people and lead to the fuller realization of social justice."

The present price system resulted from the functioning of an economy based primarily on extensive factors of growth and is incapable of exerting an active influence on the acceleration of its development rate or of defining economic processes accurately enough. Having failed to correspond to socially necessary labor costs, prices have

ceased to reliably reflect the proportions taking shape and thus to provide a reliable basis for plan decisions. The distorted picture of the real volumes of global social product and national income produced and of their growth rate makes it impossible to objectively measure costs and results in all components of the national economy.

The extensive implementation of distribution relations through prices prevents them from accurately reflecting socially necessary labor costs.

A system of phased multilevel subsidies on intermediate products, on the one hand, and the transfer of the bulk of tax from turnover to the price of a limited range of end consumption products, on the other, which separate the circulation of material assets and the movement of financial and credit resources, completes the mechanism of divorcing prices from social necessary labor costs, which is based on an artificially low level of prices in the fuel and raw material complex.

Today, when the achievements of scientific and technical progress and resource-saving methods are the main sources of economic development, excessively low prices for fuel and energy and the minimum assessment of natural resources (the use of land and water for agricultural production almost cost-free) and of manpower create the illusion of their inexhaustibility and cheapness.

The pursuit of a "cheap resources" policy in price formation reduces the effectiveness of measures aimed at making rational use of them and disguises the harm caused by retaining outdated manufacturing processes. This results in the reduction of the net income growth rate.

Nor can one fail to see that a low level of domestic prices for raw materials, fuel, and other materials creates in foreign trade largely nonsensical guidelines which make it economically beneficial primarily to export that self-same output.

Special mention must be made of the state budget subsidies for the production and sale of various goods and services. They exceed R73 billion, in other words, they have gone beyond the economically justifiable limit. However, that is not the only question, nor is it the main one. At present subsidies mainly make up for losses; they do not encourage the development of production. The aims and forms of subsidy allocation are contradictory. The prime cause, in our view, is that it is the production of intermediate output, not end output, that is subsidized. For example, the cost price of 1 tonne of power industry coal is R18 but it is sold at R12. In the power industry, therefore, the prime cost of energy and heat production and, correspondingly, the price, are understated by one-third. The rate for electricity supplied to agriculture is a little more than half of an already understated cost price. In other words, the appearance is created of low costs for embodied labor because at each subsequent stage of production the cost price of consumable output calculated is less than the actual figure.

The cost-based concept of prices reflecting the monopoly position of the manufacturer can be eliminated by enhancing the role of the consumer. At present, however, the price system does not orient production toward the consumer's interests and provides little incentive to improve the consumer characteristics, qualities, and efficiency of output. This is also encouraged by the outdated method of determining the economic effect of new output and considering it in price formation.

Prices must take account of all socially necessary labor costs both for simple and extended reproduction. However, it is not a question of including in prices all costs connected with full economic accountability. At the initial stage of the reform there is a need to determine the level of the price and to include in it the kind of normative of profitability which would ensure a volume of profit sufficient for self-financing (with different conditions and demands on the efficiency of economic management).

Full economic accountability will make it possible to create a resource-saving economy based on the efficient use of a system of payments for all types of resources used in production. Prices must be an aggregator of payments and a condition for their introduction. At the same time they must consistently reflect on a unified methodological basis all expenditure on the reproduction of manpower, natural resources, and environmental protection and improvement.

Prices which fully reflect payments for all types of resources not only increase the incentive for reducing live and embodied labor costs (by virtue of their more targeted nature) but also make it possible to accurately determine the efficiency of use of all factors of production as well as the effectiveness of economic measures both in the national economy as a whole and in individual links.

The key, fundamental feature of the radical restructuring of the system of prices is to correctly determine their economic basis.

The choice of the basis for the new wholesale prices envisages, on the one hand, separating unjustifiably high costs caused by irrational production organization from estimated cost price and, on the other, including in it all unconsidered live and embodied labor costs. Prices will be formed on a progressive normative base of all types of costs. It is thus expedient to work out and adopt the planned normative prime cost of the main consumer characteristics of output.

The most important task of the revision of wholesale prices is to change the level of and correlation between prices in the raw materials and processing sectors. Prices for coal and gas as the main boiler and furnace fuel through the year 2000 must be based on their actual cost according to their function in the light of the world price level. The price of oil is set according to the principle of the basic raw material for motor fuel and the chemical

industry. We can no longer regard oil as a fuel and set oil prices on the basis of comparing its calorific value with that of coal. This will make it possible to take fuller account of socially necessary costs in prices and to provide enterprises with conditions in which the saving of fuel and energy resources will considerably influence their economically accountable income. Such an approach, based on enterprises' interests, will really intensify the need to create and use energy- and materials-saving techniques.

Prices cannot be matched to socially necessary labor costs without reducing negative forms of subisidies to a minimum. To this end the system of dual prices for all intermediate output and a large amount of end output must be abolished and the bulk of turnover tax and profit-based payments to the budget must be replaced by payments for resources and income.

Thus it is necessary to make considerable changes to price formation for consumer goods, primarily for output in the light and food industries. The urgent question here concerns the efficient use of money to meet the difference for procurements of agricultural raw materials, which they consume at less than purchase price. Subsidies should be focused on their end output. This will make it possible to evaluate more objectively the effectiveness of measures designed to save resources and make rational use of raw materials. It is important to eliminate the gap between the results of the economic activity of light and food industry enterprises from the ultimate sale of their output in retail trade. This gap is created by wholesale and retail price lists working in parallel and often contradictory directions. Under such a system producers and consumers are separated from one another.

To ensure that the population's demand directly influences the manufacturing enterprise's economic accountability indicators it is necessary to expand the practice of fixing prices for consumer goods on the basis of retail prices, normative turnover tax rates, or budget supplements when wholesale prices exceed retail prices as well as trade discounts or supplements.

Substantial changes are also taking place in the development of production forces in sectors of the agro-industrial complex. Its creation presents new tasks in price formation.

In agriculture the mismatch between prices and socially necessary labor costs is caused not only by the broad use of inefficient forms of subsidies but also by the far-reaching price differentiation for similar output and the existence of individual prices. The revision of purchase prices envisages the elimination of such a situation. It is planned to eliminate two-tier prices for industrial output supplied to agriculture, preferential rates for electricty and heat supplied to kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and understated prices for mixed feed and food industry waste products.

Here it is necessary to switch to price formation based on enlarged economic zones, to gradually move away from the tendency toward the costs occurring in the worst production conditions, and to help the development of production and the infrastructure by means of the targeted method. By compensating for increased costs by means of prices and supplements it is possible to do no more than maintain the level of economic management. Improvements need an increase in the level of funds and energy available. But they do not result from such price supplements. In the long term, clearly, it is necessary to set purchase prices on the basis of average costs for the production of agricultural output in specialized zones and to combine them with a flexible financial and credit mechanism of payments and grants.

For an integrated balanced system of prices within the agro-industrial complex there must be a direct link between purchase prices and prices for output from its other links and final sales prices. As the economic preconditions are created and economic accountability is strengthened within the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee complex, so it becomes expedient to switch from purchase prices to contractual and accounting prices based on retail prices for agro-industrial complex end output, which will thus be the upper limit of the social assessment of the costs and results of its activity. Such prices encourage direct links between producers and consumers and make it possible to reduce labor losses at intermediate stages of the product's movement.

The need to encourage high quality productive labor on society's behalf and the demands of social justice make it necessary to reexamine not only wholesale and purchase prices but also consumer goods prices. The development of a model for the reform of retail prices and systems of allowances for the population is an extraordinarily complex task of great importance not only economically but also politically. Undoubtedly the reexamination is not a means of replenishing the budget at the expense of the working people's living standard but a condition of and an incentive for the development of production and the improvement of production efficiency and, on that basis, of increasing real incomes. That is why the content and conditions of the reform must be the subject of broad discussion. Correct, valid, and fair forms and scales of the subsidization of labor remuneration, pensions, grants, and other forms of the population's income are just as important as the level and correlation of prices. That was why V.I. Lenin wrote: "The decree on the raising of grain prices must be preceded by the people understanding the measure in relation to trade turnover and the establishment of the correct correlation of prices for bread, textiles, and so forth."

The price system must most fully reflect social needs and the consumption cost of output. In this connection socially necessary labor costs cannot be viewed in isolation from the beneficial effect which they provide. Price must reflect the social consumption cost and its effect in consumption.

It is necessary to change the principle governing the establishment of the scale of profit and profitability

within prices. They must be included in it not in proportion to costs but in accordance with the consumer characteristics, quality, and consumption effectiveness of the output. Price formation is therefore based on a cost-cutting method.

Wider use should be made of contractual prices and, as the necessary economic conditions are created, wholesale trade in the means of production should be developed. To ensure that the use of contractual prices does not lead to an unjustified general increase in prices the methodology of price formation must be defined correctly. So-called base prices must be taken as the foundation. Prices approved by price-formation organs, price limits (maximum prices) for new production and manufacturing output, prices in normative price lists, and so forth may be used as base prices. Using the base price level as a guide, the producer and consumer can negotiate the actual price.

The fundamental restructuring of price formation requires a change not only of methodolgy but also of the organization of the price formation process.

The USSR State Committee on Prices and its organs must be allowed to set prices for the basic types of fuel, raw and other materials, and other types of basic output as well as for the end product of the general state plan as a component of it and, of course, to shape the methodology and procedure for the setting of prices by other organs.

However, democracy in price formation cannot mean that state price formation organs give up methodological and normative leadership of the decentralized formation of prices. In these conditions the importance of monitoring increases sharply. Unfortunately, more than half of the krays and oblasts in the country have no subdivisions charged with the duty of monitoring prices.

The fundamental reform and democratization of price formation and the substantial improvement of the responsiveness and flexibility of the price system require the creation of a statewide monitoring system. The situation here cannot be considered satisfactory. When overstating prices for current output many economic leaders are trying to improve the enterprises' work indicators, exaggerate the labor productivity growth rate, and so forth and as a result obtain unjustified benefits and advantages. All this holds back the development of production and gives rise to parasitism. Checks have shown that violations of price discipline have been occurring at one in every two industrial enterprises checked, one consumer and municipal services enterprise in six, and one public catering enterprise in seven. Ministries and departments are still not adopting a principled position with regard to violators and often aid and abet them. Without effective monitoring of price discipline the negative consequences in this sphere may become worse.

The Law on the State Enterprise (Association) provides that excessive profit obtained by an enterprise as the result of violations of state price discipline or failure to observe standards or technical conditions is subject to confiscation by the state budget (from the collective's economically accountable income) and is excluded from accounting figures on plan fulfillment. An enterprise which raises its prices excessively and obtains excessive profit will in addition pay to the budget a fine in proportion to the unlawful profit to be taken from the collective's economically accountable income, in other words, this means that economic punishment is envisaged for violations of price discipline.

The economic and social significance of the price reform and the tremendous complexity and volume of the work involved require the mobilization of all forces and means to prepare for and implement it. Price formation organs, in conjunction with planning and financial organs and sectoral and territorial management organs, will have to create an economically validated system of prices and compile a plan for the 13th 5-Year Plan period and on that basis ensure socioeconomic acceleration.

Chernomyrdin Interview on Gas Industry

PM161305 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Sep 87 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with USSR Gas Industry Minister V.S. Chernomyrdin, by own correspondent V. Badov: "Full Speed Ahead"; date, place of interview not specified; first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Petroleum and gas industry workers are marking their professional holiday with labor achievements. USSR Gas Industry Minister V.S. Chernomyrdin briefed *Pravda* correspondent V. Badov on how these key sectors of the country's fuel and energy complex are working.

Petroleum and gas extraction is proceeding ahead of the plan targets in the country. Over the past 8 months 7.9 billion cubic meters of gas have been extracted over and above the plan. Over a short period, a breakthrough has been achieved in the performance of the petroleum industry. Since the beginning of the current year alone petroleum workers have produced 3.9 million tonnes of the valuable hydrocarbon raw material over and above the plan. The selfless work of petroleum and gas industry and construction workers is of exceptional importance for ensuring the stability of the country's fuel balance. I will just say that petroleum and gas accounts for 70 percent of this balance. A decisive role in the achievement of these results has been played by the development of deposits in West Siberia. Here, in a harsh climate and an uninhabited region, the country's main fuel and energy base has been set up within a short time. The biggest contribution to the above-plan extraction of petroleum has been made by teams from Nizhnevartovsk, Noyabrsk, Surgut, Tataria, Bashkiria, Kuybyshev Oblast, and Uzbekistan. Among the gas workers the tone of the competition is being set by the Tyumen Gas Main Production Association and "Turkmengazprom" and "Soyuzuzbekgazprom" Association collectives.

More than 7,200 teams of the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Industry and the USSR Ministry of the Gas

Industry have adopted pledges to fulfill the targets for the first 2 years of the 5-year plan or more by the 70th anniversary of Great October. Among the drilling workers the movement for achieving the 100,000 meter drilling mark per team is spreading.

Progress of work where we petroleum and gas extraction workers are concerned depends largely on the pace and scale of the development of new deposits and the construction of roads, which is in the hands of mobile collectives of the USSR Ministry of Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises. Their volume of contract work in comparison with the same period last year has increased by around 10 percent. In West Siberia construction workers have fulfilled the annual target for the commissioning of 19 new petroleum deposits ahead of schedule. The second string of the Yamburg-Yelets main gas pipeline has been commissioned earlier than planned. Work is proceeding along a broad front on the construction of yet another pipeline—Yamburg to the Western border of the USSR. The commissioning of these and other underground arteries is of decisive importance for ensuring stable gas supplies to the national economy in the coming winter.

The social thrust of our economic plans has been intensified. As regards housing alone, 450,000 square meters more than last year are to be commissioned. At the same time it must be admitted that no radical breakthrough has yet been achieved as regards the pace of construction of projects in the social sphere.

What are our most urgent tasks at the moment? Above all the active assimilation of economic methods of management. We are preparing to switch to full economic accountability [khozyaystvennyy raschet] and self-financing. We are reviewing the structure of management and drawing up new normative documents in line with the spirit and letter of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) and reflecting the specific features of the work of our sectors. We are also switching sector science to economic accountability and self-financing. All this calls for a restructuring of the work and the apparatus of the ministries and the establishment of a creative, competent, and flexible style of leadership. There is still plenty of bureaucracy and formalism in our work.

Our main task is to reliably ensure the satisfaction of the growing needs of the national economy and the population for fuel resources. It will be necessary to speed up the development of new petroleum and gas deposits in West Siberia, the Caspian region, and Central Asia and on the sea shelf, build gas and chemical complexes to ensure more effective utilization of the hydrocarbon raw material, and lay thousands of kilometers of petroleum and gas pipelines.

Agricultural

IZVESTIYA Notes Problems in Feed Crops

PM161531 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Sep 87 Morning Edition p 1

[V. Gavrichkin "Agricultural Review": "Winter Will Be The Test of What Has Been Laid in Store"]

[Text] The USSR State Committee for Statistics reports that by 7 September 86.8 million hectares of grain and pulse crops (excluding corn) had been harvested and 77.6 million hectares had been threshed.

The feed storehouses and ricks contained 73.4 million tonnes of hay, 82.7 million tonnes of haylage, 90.6 million tonnes of silage, 68.2 million tonnes of straw, and 4.8 million tonnes of artificially dehydrated feed. In terms of feed units this is equivalent to 97.4 million tonnes or 11.22 quintals of feed units per standard head of livestock.

A good many figures have already been cited. But to clarify the situation further it is necessary to give a few more. The summary provides food for thought. Let us consider it now.

Taking the laying in of haylage, the plan has been met by all republics except the Ukraine, Moldavia, and Armenia, and many of them have overfulfilled it by 50 percent or thereabouts. The Baltic republics have fulfilled the hay procurement plan. The picture regarding feed stocks of all kinds is quite different, however. The feed yards of farms in Lithuania, for example, have laid in 16.67 quintals of feed units per standard head of livestock, in Latvia the figure is 12.71 quintals, and in Estonia it is 11.95 quintals. The Ukraine currently has 8.9 quintals and Moldavia 8.0 quintals. Feed procurement workers in Belgorod, Voronezh, Kurgan, Sverdlovsk, Tyumen, and Irkutsk Oblasts have laid in approximately as much feed, but in the Buryat, Tuva, and Yakut ASSR's the figure is lower still. I would remind you that for normal wintering and to ensure that the increases in output achieved by stockraisers do not decline it is necessary to have at least 20-25 quintals of feed units per standard head of livestock. At least that amount! It is desirable to have more than that.

Of course, early September is not the time for the final reckoning. The last grass cuttings have not been collected yet, the corn sown for silage, grain, and cornage [kornazh] has not been harvested, and the straw has not all been gathered in. Feed root crops, beet haulms, and sunflowers have yet to be harvested... The opportunities are great. But this requires a colossal effort, because the crop has turned out "wet" and the early frosts have already reminded us that winter is nigh.

Many farms in Pskov Oblast are in a difficult position: There has been heavy rain and a hurricane and the grain quite literally has to be saved. But none of this replaces the wintering work ahead or today's work on the livestock units. And now, at the beginning of September, the

oblast's kolkhozes and sovkhozes have delivered to the state 10,800 tonnes less milk than last year, and in 14 rayons meat sales have fallen considerably. If farms begin the winter with such a backlog and a feed shortage as well, good results cannot be expected. The caprices of nature cannot be disregarded, of course, but neither should they raised to the level of an absolute.

On the eve of the "green harvest" quite a lot was said about its organization and important resolutions were adopted. Essentially, their general purport was as follows: Feed production everywhere must be elevated into an independent sector linked by trade relations with stockraising and using economic accountability with the payment of contractual and family links on the basis of the quality of feed procured. All economic managers should know that without the need for resolutions. But here are a few lines from the report of a recent session of the people's control commission in Pskov Oblast: "On many farms feed production is not specialized...," "...kolkhozes and sovkhozes this year have shown a lack of organization at the beginning of the grass cutting period," "...formalism has occurred in the staffing and organization of work of contracting subunits in feed production." Why is that—is the bad weather to blame here as well? The time to act is now, and with some urgency, too.

Quite a few "urgent" situations of this kind have occurred, unfortunately. They result, I believe, from a way of thinking looking not to tomorrow, nor even to today, but for some reason to the day before yesterday. Here is an example. A. Titov, chief of a department of the Orel Oblast Agro-Industrial Committee, happily shares with readers of *Orlovskaya Pravda* the report that the oblast has procured 147,000 tonnes of hay more than last year—2.2 tonnes per cow. In years gone by that would perhaps be an achievement but in the summary published in that selfsame paper today it is clear that in 15 rayons in the oblast less than 10 quintals of feed units per standard head of livestock have been laid in.

Errors in the organization of procurement and in the system of calculating the feed laid in and the labor remuneration of arable farmers have led to quite a lot of poor quality feed being laid in ricks, feed storehouses, and silage and haylage pits. For example, the figures from the Altay Kray chemicalization station show that in a number of rayons there the amount of unclassified hay varied from 17-55 percent. There is much hay and haylage of that kind on farms in Kustanay and Chimkent Oblasts and in a number of regions of North Kazakhstan. Feed-producing shops must begin working at full capacity from the very outset of the winter period so as to ensure that milk yields and weight gains do not decline when animals are given feed of this kind. Here, however, as in a number of other oblasts, repair workers have still not begun work on the feed-producing shops' equipment.

The main question now is to ensure the safekeeping of the feed that has been procured, to use it sensibly, and to make sure that animals' feed rations are balanced in terms of the main nutrients, but most of all in terms of protein. This will make it possible to drastically reduce the consumption of grain feed. This problem should be analyzed most meticulously by every kolkhoz and sovkhoz, because at the moment the "Protein" targeted comprehensive programs only exist on paper in a number of rayons.

Many farm leaders and agronomists are still debating which crop should take priority—peas, rape, or alfalfa... It has still not been decided which crop to use to solve the "protein question," even though the time for debate is long since over and the time for action is here. Here is what they are doing in the Mary ASSR, for example.

Recently economically accountable teams and links began harvesting rape seeds there. An excellent crop has been grown. The "Semenovskiy" state livestock breeding station, for example, and the "Kozhlasolinskiy" and "Za mir" Sovkhozes produce an average yield of 25-26 quintals of seeds each. In other words, every hectare there produces almost 1.5 tonnes of oil cake—high-protein feed concentrate—and around 1 tonne of plant oil. More than 42,000 hectares are sown to spring rape in the autonomous republic. Yet until quite recently rape for seed was considered an inappropriate crop for the farms of the Volga-Vyatka Economic Region. But the economically accountable contract and intensive cultivation techniques put that right.

September Weather, Crops Status Noted

PM170915 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 15 Sep 87 p 1

[Report by T. Rossinskaya, agricultural meteorologist: "Weather and Crops"]

[Text] The USSR's European territory is still experiencing cold weather. In the majority of regions the average air temperature in the last 10 days has been 2-4 degrees below average. In the Estonian SSR, the Northwest, Northern, Volga-Vyatka, and Ural Regions, parts of the Latvian SSR, the greater part of the Central Region, and the northern half of the Volga Region, harvesting conditions are unfavorable.

The weather has not been warm enough for the growth and development of winter crops north of a line linking Pskov, Ivanovo, and Sverdlovsk. Winter crops were at the sprouting and third leaf stage. Only sowings from the first half of August have tillered fully. In the Baltic region, Belorussia, the southeast of the Central Region, the south of the Volga-Vyatka and Ural Regions, and a number of areas in the Volga and Central Chernozem Regions, winter crops have developed as a result of adequate warmth and moisture. The sowing of winter crops continues.

Moderately warm weather has been observed in the crop farming regions of Western Siberia and in the northern oblasts of Kazakhstan. The average air temperature over the 10-day period was close to average. There have been

frosts as low as minus 3 degrees at night and even minus 8 degrees in the mountain regions of Altay Kray. The rain which fell for 4-6 days created an unfavorable situation for harvesting spring grain crops. Over most of West Siberia the conditions for winter crop growth and development have been good. Winter rye sown before 20 August has tillered. It is in a good condition. The harvesting of corn for silage has begun.

Cool weather has prevailed for most of the last 10 days in the crop farming regions of East Siberia and the Transbaykal area. The average air temperature has been 1-3 degrees below average. There has been frost everywhere.

In Central Asia and southern Kazakhstan the warm, dry weather in the first 5 days favored the opening of the cotton bolls and the ripening of raw cotton. But in the last 5 days the weather has deteriorated: the air temperature has fallen and its humidity has increased, and in the south and east of the Fergana Valley rain has fallen. Cotton bolls have opened everywhere. In the majority of oblasts 1-2 bolls have opened. The slow opening of the bolls and ripening of the raw cotton in those that have opened is delaying the start of defoliation and harvesting work. This year's harvest has begun 10-15 days later than usual and it is in fact only in progress in the southern oblasts of Central Asia.

In Azerbaijan, which had mainly dry weather, the cotton bolls continued to open. As of 10 September, over the republic as a whole, the mean figure for the opening of cotton bolls which had formed was approximately 50 percent.

Yeltsin Addresses Agriculture Meeting

PM161321 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Aug 87 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Success Will Depend on Businesslike Cooperation. Joint Session of Moscow CPSU Gorkom and Obkom Bureaus Held Yesterday"]

[Excerpt] The session examined the tasks facing the party, soviet, and economic organs of Moscow City and Oblast in ensuring the prompt harvesting, transport, and storage of the new crop of potatoes and vegetables.

The audience consisted of first secretaries of the city's party raykoms and Moscow Oblast CPSU Gorkoms and Raykoms, chairmen of Moscow rayispolkoms and of the oblast's rayon and city soviets, rayon agro-industrial association chairmen, general directors of the oblast's agro-industrial combines, leaders of specialized vegetable and potato farms, directors of wholesale and retail fruit and vegetable associations, and leaders of a number of organizations and administrations of the Moscow Gorispolkom and Oblispolkom.

The bureau session was addressed by B.N. Yeltsin, first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, and V.K. Mesyats, first secretary of Moscow CPSU Obkom. [passage omitted]

State Committee Cites Harvest Figures

LD170851 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 16 Sep 87

[Text] The USSR Goskomstat [State Statistics Committee] reports that by September 14 grain and pulse crops had been threshed from almost 84 million hectares throughout the country. This is 77 percent of the sown area. More than 12.5 million hectares of corn have been harvested. Overall, 711,000 hectares of potatoes have been dug up, which is 26 percent of the area planted with potatoes. The reaping of groats and oil-yielding crops, vegetables, and fruits is continuing. Cotton and sugarbeet growers have started harvesting.

In the Ukraine, Moldavia, and in the northern Caucasus the harvesting has ended, but beyond the Urals and in the non-Chernozem Zone the harvest is at its height. Eastern siberian farms have only threshed one-fourth of the grain, and the northwestern region of Russia just slightly more than one-third. The kolkhozes and sovkhozes of Buryat, Tuva, and the Irkutsk and Chita Oblasts are lagging behind. Continuous rainfall is upsetting the rhythm of the harvest conveyor in western Siberia and the virgin lands of Kazakhstan.

Voronezh Oblast Above-Plan Grain Sales

PM161505 [Editorial Report] Moscow *Pravda* in Russian 16 September 1987 Second Edition carries on page 1 under the headline "More Than Promised. Voronezh Oblast Farms Are Selling Grain to the State" a 400-word dispatch by own correspondent V. Stepnov, datelined Voronezh Oblast, reporting above-plan sales of grain to the state by individual farms and noting the vigorous grain delivery efforts on the part of many of the oblast's farms. "In addition to the promised 1,250,000 tonnes, Voronezh grain growers have delivered 100,000 tonnes above the plan. Reports from local level indicate that this is not the limit. It is possible that at least 50,000 tonnes more will be sold."

Barnaul, Orel Oblast Grain Sales Cited

PM161457 [Editorial Report] Moscow *Selskaya Zhizn* in Russian 11 September 1987 front-pages two reports by unnamed own correspondents under the general heading "Grain for the Motherland." The first report, datelined Barnaul, 10 September, says that the "daily amount of grain dispatched" to the elevators "has reached 100,000 tonnes. And altogether more than 1.5 million tonnes of grain, 72 percent of which is strong, durum, and other vauable strains of wheat, has already been delivered to the motherland's granaries from the Altay fields." The second report, datelined Orel, 10 September, says that the oblast has supplied a "total of around 100,000 tonnes of grain above target."

Altay Kray Grain Figures Reported

PM161315 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 15 Sep 87 p 1

[Own correspondent A. Torichko report: "Into the State Granaries"]

[Excerpt] Barnaul, 14 Sep—Although the fall rain is imposing changes, grain growers in Altay Kray are not slackening the pace of the harvest. The threshing of grain crops is now under way on the last million hectares, 3 million having already been threshed.

One after the other, the kray's kolkhozes and sovkhozes are completing their harvest, tranferring the center of their work to the threshing floors. While filling the storehouses with seeds, farmers in Altay Kray are also dispatching grain to the state. According to figures provided by the kray's statistical administration, Siberia's largest granary has so far supplied the country with 2 million tonnes of grain, and the plan for strong wheat procurements has already been fulfilled by 160 percent. [passage omitted]

Scientific

Bulgarian Cosmonauts Train for Space

LD160439 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 15 Sep 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] As we have already reported, two representatives of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, along with Soviet cosmonauts, are preparing for an orbital flight.

[Correspondents S. Slipchenko and V. Pankratov; identified by screen caption] In space flight everything is calculated to a second, everything is weighed to a milligram. But in spite of the calculations the element of chance always remains. During his last training, when Aleksandur Aleksandrov was the standby for Georgi Ivanov, the first cosmonaut from the People's republic of Bulgaria, the program envisaged the possibility of a landing in forest, in the taiga. This time it is in the sea.

The crew still has not been formed, and here Vladimir Lyakhov and Aleksandr Serebrov are rather experienced instructors and assistants. Incidentally, Soviet cosmonauts have to undergo such training once every 2 years, according to a method devised at the Cosmonaut Training Center. The training for the main work at sea lasts several days. On the outside everything is very calm—they even joked here, for the benefit of the Bulgarian pilots Aleksandur Aleksandrov and Krasimir Stoyanov, that the Black Sea is also their home sea, it will help.

But they all know that the main test lies ahead. This time events developed according to the laws of the detective genre. When the descent vehicle touched the water and took up the initial position, the sea was calm and the divers decided at least to imitate rolling. But in a few minutes the wind became abruptly stronger, the gusts reached 13-15m per second, and the storm was approaching four points. (Iosif Viktorovich Davydov), the leader of the work, makes the decision to continue the training. [Video shows deck of vessel, with red domed object on it, bearing the words "SSSR OKEAN". Then video shows four men in brown overalls handling equipment, together with a man in blue overalls. Serebrov can be seen among them. There is a shot of a cosmonaut wearing a space suit plunging backward into a pool of water on board the vessel. He inflates an orange float around his neck. Another cosmonaut does the same. Video then shows craft being lowered from the ship into the sea. There are three rubber dingies and a row boat nearby, with men in them. Video shows two men on top of semi-submerged craft rocking it from side to side. A man is shown speaking into a microphone on board ship.]

[(Davydov)] So the work [words indistinct] should be carried out to the full. (?When I give the call) the launch will drift. Work according to the full program. (?Do you understand) the method?

[Unidentified voice] I heard you, (Iosif Davydov), work according to the full program.

[(Davydov)] Understood.

[Pankratov] Unprecedented rolling for almost 3 hours, and during that time it is necessary to watch the instruments, to consistently carry out dozens of operations, to change into the (Forel) wet suit, and only when all are ready, leave the craft. But at that point there is special caution. We have already said that in the descent vehicle of the Soyuz TM series, the center of gravity is displaced. That allows more cargo to be brought back from orbit but it changes the arrangement of the vehicle. It is that which complicates all operations at sea. The vehicle may, as they say, take on water, while the crew is inside. It is no accident that Nikolay Nikolayevich Rukavishnikov—and he worked in orbit with the first cosmonaut from Bulgaria—compared sea training to a small space flight. Only by the side of the ship did the doctors, instructors and divers calm down. [Video shows craft in the water, with four manned dingies by it. There are two men in the water. Video shows first one man, then another, leaving the craft wearing wet suits. The men are seen in the water with their orange floats on and one of them lights a flare. A third man is seen with them in the next shot.]

This is already on the road to the stars. The cosmonauts are also told: a mission to the sea then rest. This is the picture we found on the plane on the way back from the south. They managed to rest only for 2 hours, on the flight. They woke up before arriving in Moscow itself.

[Cosmonaut A. Aleksandrov, identified by screen caption] Of course there is a difference. Before I trained for the Soyuz craft—a two-man craft. Then there was a commander and I worked as flight engineer. But now there is a new craft, Soyuz TM, a completely new machine. We have to work in threes.

[Pankratov] Will this training help in the future, in your work as a pilot?

[K. Stoyanov, identified by screen caption] Yes, of course, I think this training is the most difficult.

[A. Aleksandrov] It is a unique sensation.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Views Drugs in Army

PM151101 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Sep 87 First Edition p 2

[Special correspondent Captain Second Rank V. Chupakhin Article: "Hashish in an Envelope"]

[Excerpts] "Have you seen this?" Captain Third Rank G. Plotnikov took a small paper packet out of the safe, unwrapped it, and held it out to me. A grayish-green powder with a definite smell. Drugs. Marijuana.

"Where did you get it? Here?"

"One of the young seamen was sent it in a letter. Luckily we had done some work with the young recruits prior to this: We talked frankly about the problem of drug addiction and gave explanations... The seaman himself brought us the envelope. He does not know who sent him this 'little parcel.' Perhaps one of his friends decided to 'ease' the young serviceman's duty in this way. We did, of course, notify the appropriate organs. But the point is not even who in this specific case dared to send drugs to a military unit. You cannot help reflecting on something else. Once this disease has appeared in society, it means that it will also try to filter into the Army one way or another. It's a problem!"

Yes, there you have it, the problem, and I would have preferred not to believe it, but what can you do: That outwardly so innocuous powdered drug capable of poisoning a man's mind and making him its slave was lying right there on the desk of a military unit party committee secretary.

Marijuana, hashish, and opium... Was it long ago that we thought of these as words from a foreign dictionary, was it long ago that we thought of them as attributes not of our way of life but of an exclusively foreign way of life? "There is drug addiction over there," we said, "such things are impossible in our country." "Impossible," we maintained stubbornly, overlooking the fact that drug addiction was gradually by degrees spreading in many regions of our country. It is only with the advent of glasnost that the problem was finally raised with the acuteness which it deserves.

A great deal is being said about drug addiction now. Newspapers and magazines devote dozens of articles to it. It is now obvious that we are dealing with an insidious and dangerous enemy. An enemy who strikes at our young people first of all. And whether we like it or not, we military people have to think about it and feel concern about it. For where do the Armed Forces get their recruits? From these young people!

As yet there are no grounds for saying that drug addiction seriously contaminates our military ranks. As yet we are usually dealing only with isolated individual incidents. But is this a reason for complacency and self-satisfaction? For we, if it has come to this, have our own doleful experience. Let us recall how what we now call the problem of nonregulation relations began in its time. With isolated, sometimes outwardly innocuous incidents. But now would any describe it as innocuous? [Passage omitted]

Yes, drug addiction is dreadful anywhere, in any conditions. But in the Army and the Navy where there are formidable arms and complex equipment it constitutes a simply exceptional danger. That is why it is necessary today to seriously think about creating a system of measures, a barrier to reliably protect military collectives against even the chance infiltration of narcotics into their ranks.

Perhaps someone will say that such a barrier already exists—each draftee undergoes a strict medical examination before joining the ranks of the military. Yes, this is one barrier to drugs, and everything must be done to make it as reliable as possible. But it would be incorrect to hope that all trouble will remain outside the draft center purely because of medical examination. The medics themselves and addiction specialists acknowledge that it is one thing to identify, so to speak, fullblown drug addicts, but it is quite another to diagnose a drug addict at an early stage. The methods are far from totally reliable here.

The reality is this: Young people who know the taste of drugs can in principle, and alas sometimes do, enter military collectives. And there are no guarantees that they will all have enough good sense and willpower to stop in time, like Seaman Kotelnikov. We must be aware of and ready for this. A reliable barrier to drugs must actually be created in every unit and on every ship. A very great deal can be used to counteract it in our army and navy conditions—strictness in interior service, profound knowledge of people's sentiments, timely party and Komsomol information... It goes without saying that there can be no question of drug addiction where military discipline is really strong, where a healthy moral atmosphere has been created, and where every serviceman is, so to speak, watched by his commanders, political workers, and the entire collective.

In my opinion, the way in which people in Capt Third Rank G. Plotnikov's unit deal with this complex matter—without causing needless fuss, without pressure, and also without false inhibitions and silence—deserves attention. Party and Komsomol meetings and officers' conferences here discuss the need to prevent cases of drug addiction. They often submit for discussion articles in newspapers and magazines devoted to this problem. Special stress is given to studying the young recruits who join the unit. They endeavor to ensure that they receive as much information as possible about a seaman's psychological traits, habits, inclinations, and lifestyle prior to the army, literally from his first days of service.

"We think that it is very important to consider the so-called geographic factor," Capt Third Rank G. Plotnikov says. "Where young servicemen come from, how

widespread drugs are in their native areas, and how easy it is for young people to obtain them..."

I am not going to claim that the unit in question has supposedly created a reliable system for preventing cases of drug addiction. But people are thingking, worrying, feeling alarmed, and looking for something. This is good. Unfortunately, far more often you meet a different attitude: As soon as the conversation turns to drug addiction, you will hear a commander or political worker say:

"What are you talking about! This has no relevance to us. Pah, no such thing has ever happened in our unit and we don't think it ever will."

"Pah" is a forlorn hope, however. Clarity as to what specific forms and methods are most effective and, finally, elementary knowledge are needed to prevent the infiltration of drug addiction into the military environment. Does it exist?

"No," ship political worker Capt Third Rank A. Sushkevich thinks, for example, "most commanders and political workers do not even know what these drugs look like. We do not know enough about the signs of drug addiction and the behavioral peculiarities of addicts. The following example, say, indicates the degree of our informedness. Certain seamen from Central Asia are sent so-called 'nas'—a drug that is placed behind the lip—by their parents in parcels. How are we to treat this? Some say that 'nas' is sold in almost any Central Asian bazaar, some say that it is by no means harmless and that it is quite inadmissible to use it under shipboard conditions..."

"So what do you do?"

"I don't know whether we're right or wrong, but whenever we discover some we confiscate it..."

Capt Third Rank V. Semenov, a ship commander, also had similar worries:

"We have not as yet encountered drug addiction, but one toxin addict turned up. And boy did he pose a mystery! We saw that the seaman seemed drunk but we could not understand how he reduced himself to that state. We racked our brains: 'Where is he getting liquor?' It transpired that he wasn't. Here on the ship there is a liquid whose fumes produce a narcotic effect when inhaled. To be honest, this was a complete surprise to us. Previously we listened to such things with only half an ear."

What do these words indicate? That today above all a qualitatively different level of information about everything associated with drug addiction is needed. Here is something for the medics and military legal experts to think about. They are, of course, doing a great deal. They are having conversations with servicemen, giving lectures, and sometimes publishing material in the press about the damage of drug addiction. But the point is that most of the talk is about the harmful effects: Figures are cited and facts quoted illustrating the depths to which a drug addict may sink. But, unfortunately, it is much less often that there is talk of how to combat the dangerous phenomenon and prevent it. At the present there are few specific recommendations and pieces of advice which could help in practical work. Yet there is great need of them.

A barrier to drugs... The allies of drugs are well known: laxity, negligence, and lack of control. If, say, the registration and storage of medicines are in a muddle in a hospital, polyclinic, or first aid post somewhere, is there any need to say what this could lead to? And what if absences without leave are not really combated in a unit and the servicemen performing tasks away from the unit or serving at remote posts are essentially unsupervised? Are these not the preconditions for trouble? Lack of control may have far-reaching repercussions. For a few years ago there was, I recall, a scandalous situation in a southern garrison where thickets of wild hemp were discovered... right on the territory of the military camp. Everything turned out all right.

If you think about it, there are not all that many channels through which drugs can penetrate a military unit, so it is all the more important to reliably close them. Of course it is not always easy to do this. Let us return, say, to the incident when the envelope of marijuana arrived in the unit. This is one of the possible channels. But how can it be blocked?

Certain commanders and political workers, as far as I know, act simply: They ask their subordinates to open in their presence parcels, printed matter, and letters which obviously contain enclosures. The privacy of the correspondence is, of course, not violated in any way. I am not going to judge whether this is the best or the only way out. But I can say one thing definitely: We must now think about delicate, ticklish problems with which we did not previously like to deal and clarify them legally and morally.

Clarity is needed on many questions. Once in the mess on one ship I happened to hear an argument between officers about a newspaper article on drug addiction.

"It is time to deal more drastically with all these drug addicts," one of the protagonists suggested.

"What are you talking about!" the other officer objected. "The main culprits are the drug pushers. The drug addicts themselves are sick people, victims..."

This dispute was essentially a continuation of a larger debate which has been going on for a long time in our press. Specialists, officials, and journalists are also asking: What are these drug addicts—criminals or sick people? I think that the argument of those who think that society cannot gain if people addicted to drugs are confined in colonies instead of being seriously treated is convincing. You cannot solve such a problem with

repressive measures and punishments. This can only drive it underground. But all this is true only if you are talking about the so-called strategy of the struggle against drug addiction on a countrywide scale. There is, however, another side to the question, which concerns above all the formation of public opinion. Are we not going too far when in certain newspaper and magazine articles we virtually portray drug addicts as suffering victims who bear no responsibility for their predilection for narcotics? When you imagine an 18-year-old guy under a hail of dushman bullets in Afghanistan and his contemporary lying in some addiction clinic, you suddenly do not feel like surrounding the latter with a martyr's halo.

Incidentally, our legislation contains an article providing for criminal liability for evading military service via self-mutilation. And in fact is a drug addict any better than that? I think we must say this at greater length and more clearly: A person who uses drugs not only ruins his health and his life. By this pernicious passion he places himself outside society and thus essentially ducks out of performing his duties to it, including the sacred military duty.

Army and navy collectives must not show any ambiguity in their attitude to drug addiction and drug addicts. It is a question of a problem akin to desertion.

New Chief of Navy Personnel Directorate

PM161027 [Editorial Report] Moscow *Krasnaya Zvezda in Russian 3 September 1987 First Edition carries on page 2 under the rubric "Military Cadres: Duty and Responsibility" and the headline "It Begins at the Military Academy" a 2,100-word interview by own correspondent Captain 2d Rank S. Turchenko with Rear Admiral Ye. Yermakov, identified as chief of the Navy Personnel Directorate [name and title as published]. The interview is devoted to Naval Academy training tasks and problems.*

District, Directorate Officers Identified

PM161435 [Editorial Report] Moscow *Krasnaya Zvezda* in Russian 1 September 1987 First Edition carries on page 2 an article entitled "Initiative" by Colonel General L. Shustko, who is identified in the byline as "commander of the North Caucasus Military District forces."

The paper's 2 September 1987 First Edition carries on page 2 a report by Major S. Gilmetdinov entitled "At Extramural Session" which, in passing, identifies Major General R. Gorelov as "chief of the Southern Group of Forces Political Directorate."

Dismissal of Major Noted, Abuse Cited

PM161029 [Editorial Report] Moscow *Krasnaya Zvezda* in Russian 3 September 1987 First Edition carries on pages 2 and 4 under the headline "Dishonor: Where Flouting the Dignity of Subordinates Has Led an Officer" a 3,000-word article by own correspondent Colonel Ye. Zhitarenko datelined Moscow Military District. The article describes the fate of an overzealous officer, Major V. Kovalenko, chief of staff of a military construction detachment, who verbally abused and on one occasion physically assaulted his subordinates. The author reports that despite his previously clean record, a party commission decided that "there is no room in the party for a man who lays his hands on his subordinates." "Because Major Kovalenko brought discredit to the title of an officer, a court of honor applied for his dismissal from the Army despite the fact that he is only 37 years old, an experienced specialist, and an energetic worker..." The article notes that "strict disciplinary and party penalties for omissions in the education of subordinates and delays in adopting a decision on this question" were meted out to other officers. The author concludes: "These are rigorous decisions and severe consequences, of course. But they are the logical conclusion of a story which can serve as a lesson."